



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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INF Treaty Inspectors Arrive in FRG

PM0707115188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian

6 Jul 88 First Edition p 5

[Unnamed own correspondent dispatch: "Inspectors Arrive"]

[Text] Bonn, 5 Jul—Two groups of Soviet inspection and verification personnel arrived in the FRG yesterday in accordance with the provisions of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. At the welcoming ceremony, a representative of the U.S. command stated that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is a "historic event." A representative of the FRG Defense Ministry noted in his welcome that the FRG unequivocally supports the treaty and has therefore agreed to verification on its territory.

Over the course of 2 weeks, the groups of Soviet inspectors will visit six U.S. military bases where nuclear Pershing-2 and cruise missiles, stockpiles, and other services connected with these types of weapon are sited.

The withdrawal of U.S. missiles from FRG territory should begin, as is known, 90 days after the treaty comes into force and last 3 years.

INF Inspection Team Continues Tasks in U.S.

LD0507220488 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT

5 Jul 88

[Text] San Francisco July 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Sidorin:

Soviet inspectors have completed the first series of on-site inspections to verify the U.S. side's compliance with the intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty.

They visited, in groups, five military facilities in the west of the United States, which are, or were, the homes of missiles and their components that are to be destroyed under the treaty.

The Soviet experts inspected the Pueblo Army depot in Colorado, the Fort Huachuca Army base and the Davis-Monthan Air Forces base in Arizona, General Dynamics Plant 19 in San Diego, California, and the Dugway Range in Utah.

They were allowed to spend 32 hours at each site.

Representatives of the U.S. Department of Defence said those were "baseline inspections" during which the Soviet inspectors verified the location, number and class of the declared missiles and their components stationed there.

Today, 48 Soviet inspectors are leaving San Francisco for home.

The other 22 Soviet inspectors will stay at Magna, Utah, where a plant producing components for Pershing-2 missiles is located.

American officials said U.S. inspectors had carried out the first series of similar inspections in the Soviet Union.

Baseline inspections will last till September 1.

Soviet experts will visit a total of 26 facilities in the U.S. and Western Europe.

American experts will inspect 133 sites in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia.

After the first series of inspections, verifying compliance with the INF Treaty, is over, inspectors on both sides will visit or stay at various facilities and missile destruction sites until all the declared weapons are eliminated.

Inspector on 'Warm' Reception

PM0607143788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian

6 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Unnamed IZVESTIYA correspondent Washington dispatch on undated telephone interview with Soviet INF inspection group leader Anatoliy Yevgenyevich Samarin in Salt Lake City, Utah: "Inspectors Set to Work"]

[Text] Washington—As already reported, in accordance with the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the first inspection groups of Soviet specialists have arrived in the United States. One of them has been based in Salt Lake City, Utah. Its leader, Anatoliy Yevgenyevich Samarin, talks by telephone with your correspondent.

"The Soviet inspectors arrived on an IL-62 aircraft at Travis Air Force Base near San Francisco. This is one of the two U.S. arrival points for Soviet inspection groups (the second point is the city of Washington). The procedure, as laid down by the joint accords, for inspection at Customs of our baggage and the control technology which we had brought with us took quite a long time. Our group did not give cause for any questions on the U.S. side.

"Five groups of inspectors—10 people in each group—are to proceed to the facilities to collate initial data included in the memorandum and the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Ours is the largest group. It consists of 22 [this and previous figure as published] people. We have a rather different task which I will discuss below.

"On Saturday, a U.S. C-141 aircraft took us to Salt Lake City, the administrative center of the state of Utah. Here we were met with great ceremony. A representative of the state governor came to the airport. There were many journalists. Judging by their reports, the inspectors' arrival was a very major event in Utah's life.

"We were given temporary accommodations in a cottage halfway between Salt Lake City and the town of Magna. There is a kind of leisure zone here. Later a permanent residential complex will be built for Soviet inspectors. An on-site inspection administration set up in the Pentagon is dealing with accommodating and escorting us. It is also setting up inspection groups to be sent to the USSR.

"After a short rest, there was a familiarization tour to the monitoring zone. This was the Hercules Plant, which is close to Magna. It used to produce equipment which is being eliminated according to the INF Treaty. Our task is to verify that output banned by the treaty is not shipped from the plant. Special control points are being organized for this at the exit to the plant.

"We shall be in Magna 2-3 months. Then a new group will fly in. At the U.S. side's request, we start practical work on 5 July, the day after the U.S. Independence Day national holiday. Meanwhile, we are resolving everyday questions which, thanks to the foresight of the U.S. side, have been reduced to a minimum.

"The warm and, at the same time, businesslike reception that we have been given here gives us reason to hope that on the basis of mutually agreed procedures, both sides will be able to fulfill the obligations resulting from the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles."

U.S. INF Inspection Team Arrives in Moscow
LD0707183788 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev:

The U.S. Air Force transport aircraft, C-141, which landed today at Moscow's Sheremetyevo-1 airport, did not cause much surprise among its employees. Only a handful of passengers looked with curiosity at the huge jet with unfamiliar identification marks. One more group of American inspectors came on this flight to conduct checks on Soviet territory in line with the intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty.

It has been the ninth team to arrive in Moscow since July 1, when the process of mutual inspections started. Sixteen facilities have been checked so far over that period, with the 17th, the destruction site Lesnaya in Rovno region, the Western Ukraine, being inspected now.

This is the second trip to the USSR for the chief of the team, which arrived today, Marine Lieutenant Colonel Lawrence Kelly. In early July he took part in an inspection trip to the missile operating base Rechitsa in Gomel region, Belorussia. "It is clear to us that the Soviet side is interested in facilitating our inspections," he said in perfect Russian. "Excellent conditions were created for our work and we are quite satisfied. The American and Soviet sides strive to do everything possible to bring the INF Treaty to a success. In addition to official

contacts, we have established good personal relations. Your officers had produced a positive impression on me—they are capable commanding officers who have good knowledge of the provisions of the treaty. They are also very hospitable. I think this is the national trait of the Soviet people."

Lawrence Kelly said further that the on-site checks that had been conducted showed that verification measures were working. "This makes one confident that we can advance in arms control issues."

The C-141 military transport is preparing for the flight to Frankfurt am Main, from where American inspection teams arrive in Moscow. A group of inspectors who finished work at two Soviet missile operating bases near Glukhov, the Ukraine, are boarding the plane. Its head Terry Cornil said that the inspections conducted by the team at both bases were a success. The team could see everything stipulated by the treaty.

U.S. Carries Out Nuclear Test in Nevada
LD0707193388 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 7 TASS—The United States carried out yet another nuclear explosion at the Nevada test site. The ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency reported that the test which had been conducted for military purposes had caused an earth jolt of 5.6 points on the Richter scale. Earth tremors had been felt in Las Vegas which is at a distance of more than 160 kilometers from the epicentre of the explosion.

The AP report did not give data about the explosion's yield. However, expert opinion is that the explosion was one of the most powerful detonations over the entire period of the existence of the proving ground in Nevada.

A spokesman for the U.S. Department of Energy has said that the test which is this year's eighth one went off normally and was not accompanied with a release of radiation into the atmosphere.

Nonproliferation Pact, Nuclear Test Limits Noted
PM0707123588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center": "For a World Without Nuclear Weapons"]

[Text] A news conference held 6 July at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center was devoted to the 20th anniversary of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty and the results of the latest round of full Soviet-U.S. talks on limiting and ultimately stopping nuclear tests.

B.G. Mayorskiy, acting chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Department on Questions of the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy and Space, described the conclusion of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty as evidence of the

responsibility and maturity with which the international community as a whole can tackle the resolution of fundamental problems of the day. He stressed that its term of operation must be determined by one factor alone: the length of time that nuclear weapons themselves exist.

I.M. Palenykh, leader of the USSR delegation at the full Soviet-U.S. talks on the limitation and ultimate cessation of nuclear tests, noted that the second round of talks took place in a constructive and businesslike atmosphere, providing effective conditions for seeking and working out mutually acceptable solutions.

While preparing a joint verification experiment at the sides' testing grounds with a view to elaborating improved measures for verifying the 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests, the sides focused their attention on the elaboration of concrete accords governing the substance of future verification measures under this treaty and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes. Protocols to both treaties must be finally coordinated in the shortest possible time, so that immediately after this the sides can switch at the talks to examining more radical steps for limiting the yields and numbers of nuclear tests, I.M. Palenykh stressed.

Mayorskiy Comments Detailed

LD0607102888 Moscow TASS in English 0933 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—The conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was evidence of the measure of responsibility and maturity with which the international community as a whole is capable of settling the fundamental issues of the present. A statement to this effect has been made today by Boris Mayorskiy, deputy head of the Department for the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy and Outer Space of the USSR Foreign Ministry. He was addressing a press conference in connection with the 20th anniversary of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

It is precisely the awareness of the inseparability of our own security from that of all the other states, of our own benefit from the common benefit, Boris Mayorskiy continued, that has created the necessary political and moral-psychological prerequisites for the appearance of the treaty and development of the international regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In these terms the non-proliferation treaty can serve as an example and model for the other multilateral processes involved in the tasks of limiting and totally scrapping various types of weapons.

The Soviet Union is invariably true both to the spirit and letter of its commitments under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. A convincing evidence of that is the stage-by-stage programme put forward by the USSR for the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, the programme for building a

nuclear-free and non-violent world. This is also convincingly seen from the history of our participation in international talks, bilateral and multilateral ones, on various disarmament issues.

The treaty has been a substantive contribution to building up confidence between states and has become an active catalyst and stimulating factor for diverse international contacts in the political field.

This year will see the start of preparations for the next review conference scheduled for 1990. Yet of special significance will be the conference that will follow it and which, according to the terms of the treaty, is to be convened 25 years after it came into force i.e. in 1995 and at which the participant states will have to decide by a majority vote the question of prolonging the treaty or turning it into one without a time-limit. The Soviet Union favours that by that time the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons should become a universal one in composition of signatories to it and its further destiny will be decided by the whole of the international community.

As far as the term of the treaty is concerned, it, in our view, should be determined by only one factor, the term of existence of nuclear weapons themselves. In other words, we favour that the treaty should remain in force as long as at least one unit of nuclear weapons remains on earth. Herein lies its historical mission, Boris Mayorskiy emphasised.

Geneva Disarmament Conference Session Opens

LD0707084988 Moscow TASS in English 0844 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Geneva July 7 TASS—The session of the conference on disarmament has opened in the Palace of Nations here today. The delegations of forty nations attending the conference will continue debating such topical issues as a ban on chemical weapons and nuclear tests, an end to the arms race, the issues of nuclear disarmament, prevention of nuclear war and militarisation of outer space.

In the course of the current session its delegates are faced with the objective of intensifying work and improving the practical effect of the conference, which is designed to make its contribution to forming the disarmament concept which shall be based on the idea of the integrity and mutual dependence of the world today.

The session will last till September this year.

Soltan Comments on Chemical Weapons Ban

LD0700072088 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] The 7th of July marks the start of the summer session of the disarmament conference, where 40 countries are represented. Our commentator Yuriy Soltan

believes that acute debates will develop, primarily on the issue of banning chemical weapons and eliminating their stockpiles. He elaborates, and this is what he writes:

A draft convention on this has largely been coordinated, but I don't undertake to predict when it will be completed, even though a green light seems to have been opened for a successful conclusion of this work. All participants in the conference view the convention as essential. Many delegates to the recent United Nations General Assembly session on disarmament also gave top priority to the endeavors to ban chemical weapons. The Soviet and American leaders described this problem at their summit meeting in Moscow as of everlasting importance. The Soviet Union initiated an exchange in teams of specialists, who inspected military chemical facilities in the USSR, the United States, and Britain. Why then does the signing of the convention that many expected to take place last year still remain undecided?

There are two approaches to the endeavors to resolve this problem. Disputes on the convention (?all) focus on verification, including on-site inspections as well as inspections at both state sector and private facilities that might be engaged in producing combat chemicals. As for the United States, it wants to leave the commercial plants which largely account for the manufacture of chemical weapons out of verification procedures. Moreover, the Soviet Union has officially announced the quantity of combat chemicals it has at its disposal, 50,000 tonnes. It also declared that Soviet chemical weapons are stored only on Soviet soil and that they have never been granted to anyone. No other country, neither the United States nor its NATO allies, has released such data.

Judging by different sources, the United States has 150,000 tonnes of deadly chemicals, that is, more than 3 million units of chemical ammunition, and 1 in 10 American chemical shells, bombs, and mines is stored in Europe. Warships cruising the waters of the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans also have American chemical weapons on board. Besides, last year, the Soviet Union stopped the production of all types of chemical arms and began to build a facility for liquidating their stockpiles. At about the same time, the United States launched the production of artillery shells for another dangerous type of nerve gases, binar y.

Comparing the two approaches to the efforts to resolve the major disarmament problem, you will be able to determine beyond any doubt who uses the mechanism of hinderance at the conference. It must be added that what matters is not only technical difficulties but also the unwillingness of some countries to take a political decision with a view to eliminating those weapons of mass destruction once and for all.

UK Delegation's CW Facility Tour 'Useful'

PM0707140588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA special correspondent A. Serbin dispatch: "Shikhany Once Again. British Experts' Visit to Soviet Military-Chemical Facilities"]

[Text] Shikhany-Moscow—...It is now as hot on the banks of the Volga, where Shikhany is located, as it is around Moscow, and so the British guests had to work in both places, in the literal sense of the words, by the sweat of their brows.

The group of British experts which has just visited our country came here to return a visit by our specialists to the British chemical warfare research center at Porton Down. This exchange has taken place within the framework of broadening confidence-building measures designed to help the speediest conclusion of a convention on the complete and universal banning and destruction of chemical weapons now being elaborated at the international conference in Geneva.

Shikhany is a place with which the world is already familiar from last year's demonstration to the participants in the Geneva talks of standard samples of chemical munitions at the disposal of the USSR Armed Forces and of our national technology for destroying chemical weapons. Prior to their trip to Shikhany, the British inspected the USSR chemical troops' training area near Moscow, where junior commanders and chemical defense specialists are trained. Soviet specialists were shown similar facilities at Porton Down.

Last year when we opened the gates of the Shikhany military facility, which is designed to resolve comprehensive problems linked with our chemical troops' technical equipment, objective observers described this as an unprecedented step in confidence-building between countries.

At Shikhany the British were granted access to the facility's laboratories and were acquainted with the technology for destroying chemical weapons, with special processing systems, and with the equipment used by the subunit tasked with eliminating AES accidents (this subunit was involved in combating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident). They were shown a plan of the facility and inspected Shikhany from helicopters; they were allowed to inspect 10 points in which they showed particular interest.

"The British experts were given 17 lectures on different questions associated with the facility, and we answered more than 300 questions that they asked."

It would be no exaggeration to say that both at Shikhany and in the Moscow area, the guests showed tremendous interest in what they were shown. Suffice it to say that it was after

midnight when they completed their first day's work at Shikhany. They were extremely well equipped to materialize this interest. Apparently not a single word from our specialists providing explanations went unrecorded on their dictaphones, and their camera shutters clicked and their portable video recorders operated continuously.

I can foresee the cautious reader's question: "Aren't we going too far with our openness?" I think that this question must be answered as follows: We are holding serious talks and firmly intend to secure the conclusion of a convention on chemical weapons, and we are demonstrating this by our behavior.

Incidentally, as Soviet specialists noted, the British visit to our facilities, unlike our visit to Porton Down, was more reminiscent of the so-called inspection [proverka] on demand—a verification measure provided for in the convention now in preparation.

But how are things going at the talks themselves? At one time, our side expressed the hope that a chemical weapons convention could be signed last year. I asked this question of Yu.K. Nazarkin, the Soviet delegation head at the chemical weapons talks, who is now in Shikhany.

"The talks are continuing," he replied. "I must say that there are still difficulties at these talks. We are resolving the technical difficulties in the elaboration of the convention, in particular, those linked with verification of its implementation. But there are political difficulties. At present we cannot perceive any changes in the U.S. stance. At the same time, I want to point out that two factors should influence the progress of the Geneva talks. First—the results of the Soviet-U.S. Moscow summit. The joint Soviet-U.S. statement describes the banning of chemical weapons and the conclusion of an effective convention on this as a 'question of unmitigated urgency.' The results of the Third UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament, where practically all its participants—their degree of sincerity is another matter—advocated the banning of chemical weapons, should also affect the talks."

It must be said that the British side expressed its viewpoint on the question of concluding a convention. Miss T. Solesby, leader of the British delegation at the Geneva disarmament conference and head of the group of British experts at Shikhany, insisted that everyone has the political will to conclude a chemical weapons convention and that it is only a matter of great technical difficulties. At the same time, it is clear that it is the political will that certain Western partners are lacking.

Demonstrating such will, our country has announced the cessation of chemical weapons production. Late last year, the Soviet Union officially declared its chemical weapons stocks. As for the United States, it has, on the contrary, resumed manufacture of these weapons, an extremely dangerous form of them, moreover: binary chemical weapons.

"What is the importance of the current U.S. production of binary weapons?" I asked Lieutenant General A.D. Kuntsevich, academician, Hero of Socialist Labor, who is a leading USSR Defense Ministry and USSR Academy of Sciences expert.

"It is an extension of U.S. policy in the chemical weapons sphere, which proceeds on the premise that its potential must be high and it must resolve military tasks," he replied. "The production of binary chemical weapons is impeding the conclusion of a convention."

...The British experts' visit is over. The guests thanked us for the splendid way in which it was organized and stated that they would sum up its final results in London. It can be affirmed without fear of error that the visit was useful. Colonel General V.K. Pikalov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Chemical Troops, said that the exchange of visits to Shikhany and Porton Down will be beneficial at the Geneva talks.

Petrovskiy Views UN Disarmament Session
*LD0607135588 Moscow TASS in English 1142 GMT
6 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—"The priorities of Soviet foreign policy completely coincide with those of the world community. They are, first and foremost, a 50 per cent cut in the strategic offensive weapons the ban on nuclear weapons tests and on chemical weapons," Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, said in an interview with the MOSCOW NEWS WEEKLY, which was published today.

Petrovskiy was commenting on the results of the third special session on disarmament of the U.N. General Assembly, which failed to adopt a final document because of the U.S. stand. He noted that the session had made it possible to put new questions to the international community to fill the gaps in the disarmament process.

Asked why the session proved to be unable to pass the final document, he said: "One shall not over-dramatise the situation. First because the session is not the crowning event, but the start of a dialogue on the whole package of disarmament issues without the ideological confrontations of the past. Second, the session has been useful because it introduced also a whole number of new ideas."

As Petrovskiy said, the USA has demonstrated that it places its national interests above those of the international community and behaves not in the manner required by participation in a democratic civilised dialogue. Unlike the USA, nobody has closed the door to a dialogue nor refused to carry on work on the final paper. There is a strong wish in the international community to act from the positions of general human interests, Petrovskiy stressed. "The forum has demonstrated that the international community inspired by the first-ever

threaty between the USSR and the USA on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons expects from the participants in the current talks new truly tangible results," he said.

Further Reportage on Prague CEMA Session

Ryzhkov 6 Jul Speech Cited

PM0807111188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report on speech by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at 6 July meeting of CEMA session: "The Foundation of Socialist Economic Integration"]

[Text] Prague, 6 Jul—The participants in the CEMA session meeting under way here continued today to discuss an important document—a collective concept for the international socialist division of labor. [This and following variations are carried by Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1440 GMT on 6 July in a similar "TASS special correspondent" report on Ryzhkov's speech: "They regard as a most important task of restructuring for the period of 1991-2005 a model of cooperation that, while preserving the forms that have proved valid, would be based on the criteria of efficiency, on the ever-increasing role of commodity money relations and economic instruments, and on engaging the countries' economic organizations in all areas of cooperation on a broad scale."]

Addressing the plenary meeting, N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, dwelt on a number of the most acute cooperation issues on whose solution the rate and depth of the revolutionary processes to a large extent depend.

Noting the negative trends in economic development and cooperation, which are causing a decline in the rate of growth of reciprocal trade, the Soviet delegation head said that CEMA has made good decisions but their implementation has not yet had the expected results.

It has been noted on several previous occasions that the earlier model of the division of labor, based primarily on the exchange of Soviet fuel and raw materials for finished articles, had drained the potential for the dynamization of trade turnover. Today the situation is made even more difficult by the fall in contract prices for oil, energy sources, and other types of raw materials. Unless prompt and vigorous measures are taken it could result in an imbalance in economic relations, which means a reduction in reciprocal trade turnover.

Therefore, Soviet machine building is faced with the task of increasing the output of products that are in demand in the community countries. And special significance is attached to starting up production of new types of products on the basis of developments stemming from

the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress. The machine building ministries, in conjunction with the Gosplan and the State Committee for Science and Technology, are preparing the relevant proposals and these will be presented to the countries before the end of the year.

Undoubtedly, increasing indebtedness to third countries is one thing that has hindered the restructuring of the foreign trade exchange structure within the CEMA framework. This is causing a fall in imports from the West, which is affecting reproduction processes and means that scarce resources have to be earmarked for export. So far it has not been possible to properly pool efforts to organize production of the types of products which it is irrational for the CEMA member-countries to import. Nor has there been any appreciable strengthening of the community's export potential.

In the Soviet delegation's view, the collective concept submitted for examination by the session correctly defines the strategic goals and directions of the further development of socialist economic integration and fundamental advances in intersectoral and intrasectoral specialization on the basis of exploiting the advantages of the international socialist division of labor. Therefore the Soviet delegation is in favor of approving the document.

At the same time, the Soviet delegation leader said, we deem it necessary to note that a number of fundamental questions were not analyzed thoroughly enough during the preparation of the draft concept. Above all, the countries' production specialization profile was not clearly specified. This is a substantial lacuna. During the coordination of plans for 1991-1995 solutions will have to be found to these questions. It is important that the solutions accord with the socioeconomic transformations outlined in the countries and ensure the attainment of dynamic reciprocal trade development rates. We believe that its volume must approximately double by the year 2000. Subsequently, when conditions are right and countries are ready for new decisions, the concept should be clarified and amplified so that it is a real economic and political platform for the further development of the socialist division of labor.

We have agreed to embark on implementing the concept in the course of the plan coordination now under way for the next 5-year period. The major targeted projects based on the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress must also be implemented on the basis of the goals defined in our new collective document. They will be the nucleus of the formation of progressive types of production and will make it possible to focus efforts and resources on the decisive sectors that ensure technical progress and qualitative changes in the structure of reciprocal exchange. The joint implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress is the main way to improve the structure of reciprocal exchange and implement the collective concept.

The switch to a technological model of cooperation requires fundamental advances in intrasectoral specialization. Its level at the moment by no means accords with the available potential. Specialization can and must be one of the chief sources of the growth of production and of the volumes of reciprocal trade turnover. By the year 2000 the Soviet Union proposes to increase its machine building exports to the CEMA member-countries by nearly 400 percent by developing specialization and production sharing.

The planning committee should without delay highlight the priority problems in the collective concept whose solution demands the creation of large-scale specialized and cooperativized production processes and involves major capital outlay. On problems of this kind it is advisable to prepare intergovernmental agreements and programs, determine new product requirements, agree on division of labor issues in the community, and provide for the allocation of the necessary resources for the development of capacities.

These questions could be the chief content of the activity of CEMA committees and commissions and our countries' central planning and economic bodies in the next few years.

N.I. Ryzhkov then dwelt on the programs currently being examined by the session for specialization in machine building, the radio equipment and electronics industries, and in the chemical industry. [The TASS version adds: "N.I. Ryzhkov also dwelt on the program for specialization in machine-building, radio engineering, and the electronics industry, which are being examined by the session, and in the chemical industry, stressing that they must already become the basis of the organization of cooperation in the division of labor between and within industries during the forthcoming coordination of plans."]

On the basis of these programs, ministries or major producers in the countries can embark on the creation of unified series of the machinery and equipment in shortest supply in the community and on specialization in their production, as was done when organizing production of the "RYAD" computers and nuclear power station equipment.

The Soviet delegation head devoted much attention to the problem of computerizing [elektronizatsiya] the national economy, which is of paramount significance.

As is clear from the report by the chairman of the CEMA Committee on Computerization, there have been definite advances in this area: A number of developments has been completed and the assimilation of certain types of new equipment and materials has begun. But there are no grounds for satisfaction at the results of the joint work because the pace of computerization is lagging well behind growing requirements. [The TASS version adds: "Given the continued Western embargo on supplying

socialist countries with equipment, materials, and components necessary for the production of microelectronics, the importance of joint work in this sphere is growing even more."]

N.I. Ryzhkov expressed his opinion on possible additional measures which should be provided for in the new multilateral agreements and programs for cooperation in the sphere of computerization so that the socialist countries can overcome the lag in this sphere and attain advanced positions.

Concerning another important problem of the coordination of plans for the next 5-Year Plan—that of providing the CEMA member-countries with fuel and raw materials—the Soviet Government head noted that a large part of Soviet capital investments in the development of fuel sectors is channeled into maintaining extraction volumes that have already been reached. It is the same with the main types of raw material supplied to the CEMA member-countries. Therefore, the problem of reliable supplies of fuel and raw materials for the economy cannot be solved without the most extensive introduction of resource-saving technology into production. [The TASS version adds: "This has become an unfailing rule in the West's industrially developed countries."]

In view of the shortcomings in the fulfillment of the CEMA program for saving material resources which was adopted in 1985, CEMA organs should attend to this question and prepare relevant proposals to be submitted for special consideration at the next CEMA session meeting.

The Soviet delegation supports the basic provisions of the programs for cooperation between European CEMA member-countries and Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia which are an important integral part of the collective concept of the international socialist division of labor. These programs correctly point us toward a deeper linkage between our joint activities and the crucial problems of these countries' socioeconomic development. However, the programs also contain relatively extensive lists of specific projects and works which require clarification as regards construction deadlines, assessments of the economic expediency of individual projects, and measures to ensure that they produce returns as soon as possible.

The Soviet Union, N.I. Ryzhkov said, will continue to conduct a policy based on the maintenance of favorable cooperation conditions in respect of Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia. At the same time, we also favor the broad utilization of new forms, including forms based on the principle of compensation. Naturally, in this case, the interests of the participant enterprises must be taken into consideration and possibilities for a partial reimbursement of enterprises' expenditure by the state will have to be studied. In the Soviet Union decisions to this effect have been taken.

The fundamental difference in the upcoming coordination of plans also consists in the fact that both the procedure and the mechanism of this coordination are changing substantially. The changes are neither fortuitous nor superficial. The practice of socialist building has objectively brought our countries face to face with the need for profound economic reforms and an organic combination of regulation by means of centralized planning and an increasingly wider use of commodity-money levers. There is a constant growth in the role of socialist enterprises in internal economic life in conditions of our cooperation. In these conditions it is impossible to carry out the coordination of the plans for 1991-1995 in the old manner by agreeing deliveries of a great number of goods at the level of the state plans.

The switch to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing presupposes the gradual expansion of the quota-free exchange of goods directly between enterprises, between the producers and the consumers of the goods.

One of the main spheres of the economic reform in the USSR which is intended to ensure the vigorous activity of enterprises—including in the sphere of cooperation with fraternal countries—is the phased development of wholesale trade in the means of production using Soviet and conversion rubles. This is to contribute to the creation of conditions favoring the adoption of optimum economic decisions and raised production efficiency. At the same time, this will make possible a greater freedom in the choice of partners and economic competition between them, and will rid socialist commodity-money relations of directive strictures. The Soviet Union sees this as a realistic path toward boosting the dynamism of our foreign economic ties.

The development of wholesale trade will expand the opportunities for our cooperation and will make it possible to involve additional resources in it. This will be promoted by the direct involvement in this wholesale trade of interested CEMA member-countries.

Other avenues of the development of quota-free trade, and consequently of the establishment of the future common market will be the development of cross-border exchanges, the expansion of goods-exchange operations between cities, oblasts, and republics in the USSR and corresponding partners in other countries—including in the cooperative sector sphere. In the USSR the necessary organizational and economic preconditions are being created for boosting foreign economic activities at local level and developing the initiative of enterprises and cooperatives.

Direct cooperation between our enterprises and the establishment of a common socialist market necessitate a restructuring of the integration mechanism since the new forms of cooperation cannot really find widespread application on the basis of the existing system of economic instruments and levers. The establishment in our

economic relations of direct contacts, joint enterprises, and international associations is so far proceeding slowly. They have failed to produce the expected returns and have not become a catalyst of accelerated cooperation and tangible growth of reciprocal deliveries. Only one-third of the direct ties established by industrial enterprises pursue the aim of developing production sharing. The reason for this situation is: difficulties in the coordination of prices and the conversion of foreign currency, and the inadequacy of the entire system of settling accounts, which all require updating. And this is quite natural, since the existing system of cooperation is geared to interstate ties and the implementation of intergovernmental agreements.

One way to solve this task is to broaden enterprises' rights above all in the sphere of price fixing. All the goods that change hands via the channels of direct ties, production sharing, and wholesale trade should be sold at contract prices which are agreed by our countries' enterprises and economic organizations themselves.

Particular importance is attached to the renewal of the currency and financial instruments of cooperation. Without this, progress in the development of integration processes will be difficult. We have concluded agreements with a number of countries on the use of national currencies in transactions. The convertibility of national currencies substantially facilitates cooperation between enterprises and makes it much easier for them to tie up the results of this cooperation with the economic accountability relations inside the country. Therefore we intend to gradually expand the use of the Soviet ruble within the system of settling accounts within the CEMA.

Also of topical importance is the establishment of realistic exchange rates between the national currencies, the conversion ruble, and Western countries' currencies.

We are aware of the great responsibility which rests upon the Soviet Union with regard to the implementation of our common tasks. A long-term concept of national economic development is currently being elaborated in the USSR. In it we make provision for the creation of conditions and prerequisites for the achievement of our collectively set aims. We regard this as our internationalist duty to the fraternal states and the socialist community. N.I. Ryzhkov said in conclusion.

The heads of the CEMA member-countries' delegations at the 44th meeting of the CEMA session expressed their support for the collective concept of the international socialist division of labor, which was approved. A report on the course of the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Member-Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 was delivered by B.L. Tolstykh, chairman of the CEMA Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

The CEMA session continues.

Talks With Strougal Begin 4 Jul
PM0707122188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks Begun"]

[Text] Prague, 5 Jul—Talks began here on Monday between N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is paying an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia, and L. Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the CSSR Government.

The sides exchanged opinions on topical questions of the two sides' socioeconomic development and various aspects of bilateral cooperation.

Main attention was focused on the implementation of the accords reached during the talks between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, including the deepening of the two countries' economic integration.

N.I. Ryzhkov gave L. Strougal a detailed report on the work and results of the 19th all-union party conference, which adopted important political decisions ensuring the deepening and irreversibility of restructuring in all spheres of Soviet society's life.

L. Strougal described progress in the implementation of the CPCZ Central Committee December (1987) and April (1988) Plenum decisions, designed to raise the country to a qualitatively new level of socioeconomic development and democratization of society's life. It was stressed that there is deep interest and understanding in the CSSR for the revolutionary transformations occurring in the USSR.

The heads of government agreed that the similarity of the transformations which have begun in the two countries and their purpose of harmonizing their economies create opportunities for securing further fruitful development of multifaceted cooperation and raising it to a new level of quality. In this connection the desire to actively develop and improve direct production and scientific-technical ties between enterprises and organizations and to create joint enterprises and associations was confirmed. The need to comprehensively increase the effectiveness of cooperation was stressed.

During the talks the two sides confirmed their intention to continue improving the all-around cooperation among the socialist countries, to pursue a course of asserting the new political thinking in the practice of international relations, and to make more active use of political means to resolve international conflicts.

The talks are being held in a comradely, cordial atmosphere.

Taking part in them for the Soviet side are Yu.D. Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosplan; A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology; B.I. Gostev, USSR minister of finance; V.G. Kolesnikov, USSR minister of the electronics industry; V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister; and V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR; and for the CSSR side, J. Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; R. Rohlicek, first deputy premier of the CSSR Government; J. Obzina, deputy premier of the CSSR Government and chairman of the State Commission for Research and Development and Investment Planning; L. Gerle, CSSR minister of metallurgy and heavy engineering; J. Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade; J. Zak, CSSR minister of finance; J. Johanes, CSSR first deputy foreign minister; and J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR.

N.I. Ryzhkov and L. Strougal signed a program for USSR-CSSR cooperation in the sphere of developing the nuclear power industry in Czechoslovakia through the year 2000.

Meet Again 7 Jul

LD0807133788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1230 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] On 7 July, following the conclusion of the CEMA Council session in Prague, Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met with Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier. They discussed progress of the implementation of economic reform in their countries, and the outcome of the 19th CPSU Conference and its impact on the progress of socialist construction. The two heads of government also discussed the issues which were examined during their 4 July talks, as well as developing Soviet-Czech economic cooperation. Comrades Ryzhkov and Strougal also exchanged opinions on the current international situation.

Later in the day, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov met with Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier.

Talks With Nicaragua's Hernandez

LD0707194688 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 7 TASS—Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikolay Ryzhkov

8 July 1988

today had a meeting in Prague with Minister for Foreign Economic Cooperation of Nicaragua Henry Ruiz Hernandez, who attended the 44th meeting of the CMEA session, as an observer.

The minister dwelt on the struggle waged by the people of Nicaragua in defence of independence and freedom of the motherland, the efforts of the Sandinist government aimed at having a political settlement and an end to the war in Nicaragua. He underlined that the programme, put forward by the Sandinists, creates conditions for normalization of the situation around Nicaragua on the basis of recognition of its right to independent existence is a democratic non-aligned state.

Nikolay Ryzhkov pledged solidarity of the CPSU and the Soviet people with the freedom-loving Nicaraguan people and reaffirmed the Soviet Union's invariable course of rendering all-round support to Nicaragua.

A number of questions of economic cooperation between Nicaragua and the Soviet Union were considered and it was noted that implementation of the Soviet-Nicaraguan agreements promoted stabilisation of the economic situation in Nicaragua and consolidation of its position as an independent Central American state.

CMEA Session Ends 7 Jul

LD0707132388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1230 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] The 44th CMEA session ended today in Prague. The adoption of a collective concept of international socialist division of labor was one of the main results. It will form the basis for coordinating economic policy in areas related to mutual cooperation. The text of communique of the CMEA session will be published in the press.

Communique Issued

PM0707161188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Jul 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 2

["Communique on the 44th Sitting of the CMEA Session"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] The 44th sitting of the CMEA session was held in the CSSR capital, Prague, 5-7 July 1988.

Taking part in the sitting were delegations from CEMA member-countries headed by G. Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic Council of Ministers; J. Marjai, deputy chairman of the Hungarian People's Republic Council of Ministers; Vo Van Kiet, first vice chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers; W. Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; C.R. Rodriguez, vice president of the Republic of Cuba Council of State and Council of Ministers; D. Sodnom, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers; Z. Messner, chairman of the Polish People's Republic Council of Ministers; C. Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of

Romania; N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and L. Strougal, premier of the CSSR Government. CEMA Secretary V.V. Sychev and representatives of the Council's organs also took part in the sitting.

In conformity with agreement between CEMA and the SFRY Government, an SFRY delegation headed by J. Zemljarić, vice president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, took part in the work of the Council's session.

Representatives of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Nicaragua, and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia attended the Session's sitting by invitation as observers.

The session was chaired by CSSR delegation head L. Strougal.

Assessing the results of mutual cooperation and CEMA's activity in 1986-1987, the leaders of delegations from CEMA member-countries taking part in the sitting described the basic questions of socialist building in their countries. It was noted that these countries' attention was focused on tasks stemming from the strategic directives of the congresses of their communist and workers parties and their plans for socioeconomic development in the current 5-Year Plan period. Special emphasis was placed primarily on the intensification of the national economy, the enhancement of its efficiency, and the improvement of its balance. Strenuous efforts by working people in the socialist community countries have resulted in increased social production and further successes in the implementation of social programs. A contribution to this was also made by the measures taken in the countries to improve economic mechanisms. Virtually the entire economic growth in the majority of CEMA member-countries in the last few years was secured through increased labor productivity; there was preferential development of sectors and production units determining the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the enhancement of social production efficiency. Other quality indicators improved.

At the same time the Session noted that the potential for intensification of CEMA member-countries' economy is still not fully utilized. Emphasis was placed on the need to accelerate its transition to a qualitatively new technical and technological base and a resource-saving path of development.

It was noted at the sitting that the development of cooperation and socialist economic integration and the deepening of the international socialist division of labor are becoming an increasingly important factor of CEMA member-countries' political and economic life and their socioeconomic development. Joint efforts provided the

basis for the continuing implementation of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Member-Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, for the construction of integration projects including the opening up of the Yamburg Gas Field and the building of the "Progress" Gas Pipeline and the Khmelnitskiy AES, and for the development of CEMA member-countries' integrated energy systems. Major agreements were implemented on multilateral international specialization and production sharing on the machine building industry products, nuclear power industry equipment, computer equipment, and chemical industry products.

At the same time the session noted that economic cooperation among the CEMA member-countries is still not having the proper effect on increasing their national economic efficiency. Cooperation and production-sharing are not developing quickly enough, the growth of reciprocal trade has slowed down, and a number of countries' foreign debt has increased. The conclusion was reached that the solution of the socioeconomic tasks facing the CEMA members requires the fuller use of the potential of economic cooperation and a new and more effective approach to the deepening of the international socialist division of labor.

In this connection great attention was paid to the discussion of the course of CEMA's work in restructuring the mechanism of multifaceted cooperation and socialist economic integration and the activity of the Council based on the resolution of the 43d (extraordinary) CEMA session.

The session approved the collective concept of the international socialist division of labor for 1991-2005. It has been formulated on the basis of the decisions of congresses of the CEMA member-countries' fraternal communist and workers' parties on questions of those countries' economic and social development in the light of decisions of the CEMA member-countries' top-level economic conference and of the ideas expressed at the working meeting of leaders of the CEMA member-countries' fraternal parties (Moscow 1986) and the decisions of the 43d (extraordinary) CEMA session.

The collective concept will be the basis for the coordination of economic policy in spheres connected with mutual cooperation and, by those countries concerned, in other spheres of socioeconomic development.

The CEMA organs were instructed to take steps to formulate measures and agreements for multifaceted cooperation on concrete questions to secure the implementation of the collective concept, defining the terms for cooperation and production specialization as well as the scale of reciprocal deliveries beginning in 1991.

There was also an examination of long-term programs for the development of multifaceted production-sharing and cooperation among the CEMA member-countries for the period through the year 2000 in the spheres of machine building, radio

engineering and the electronics industry, and the chemical industry. It was noted that work is continuing on their detailed elaboration. The CEMA members will consider the provisions of these programs in the course of coordinating national economic plans for 1991-1995 as well as in organizing cooperation at a sectoral level and when implementing direct ties among enterprises, organizations, and associations.

In an organic link with the concept, the session approved the special comprehensive programs for multifaceted cooperation between the European CEMA members and the SRV, Cuba, and Mongolia. It was noted that the programs are long-term in character and are aimed at resolving the most urgent socioeconomic problems facing Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia and at expanding their participation in the international socialist division of labor and increasing the effectiveness of reciprocal cooperation. The programs envisage concrete measures to intensify the coordination of assistance to those countries and the deepening of scientific, technical, production, economic, and trade ties with them.

The concept will be implemented in stages. The CEMA members are focusing great attention on deepening production-sharing and cooperation, stepping up the mutually beneficial complementary nature of the national economies, and strengthening the export potential in the processing industry on the basis of the fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Member-Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. The role of new technologies and services of a production character will increase in mutual exchange, as will the proportion of the latest machines and equipment and standardized parts and subassemblies.

It is deemed expedient to deepen and expand cooperation and international socialist division of labor throughout the "science-technology-production-sale" chain, first and foremost in machine building and the electronics industry; in the production and rational utilization of the most important construction materials and fuel, energy, and raw material resources; in the development of transport and communications; in the production of food and industrial consumer goods; and in the social sphere.

With these aims in mind the session instructed the relevant CEMA organs to carry out work to highlight specific new measures in multifaceted cooperation, including the assimilation of fuel, energy, and raw materials resources through the joint efforts of the interested CEMA member-countries.

The introduction of new forms and methods of foreign economic ties among the socialist community countries based on the initiative and economic interest of enterprises, associations, and organizations will be expanded. The development of cooperation at the level of enterprises, associations, and organizations which have established direct production and scientific and technical contacts on a contract basis in accordance with national

legislation and the creation of joint enterprises by interested countries are viewed by the CEMA member-countries as an important way of ensuring an increase in the overall effectiveness of economic activity and mutual economic ties.

The session stressed that the coordination of the CEMA member-countries' national economic plans should be the basic instrument for implementing the collective concept and long-term programs. The program for the coordination of national economic plans for 1991-1995, elaborated with consideration for the provisions of the collective concept, and the list of economic cooperation problems coordinated on a multilateral basis were approved. The CEMA organs and the CEMA member-countries' international economic organizations were instructed to organize the elaboration of draft agreements and treaties on cooperation on the problems included in this list.

During the coordination of plans it is intended to determine by agreement the order of priority for and ways of resolving specific problems and the forms and terms of cooperation. Here the CEMA member-countries will provide for the effective use of the results of the work being done within the framework of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress. The large-scale science and production and technological projects which are being prepared and which encompass the entire reproduction process from research and development to the production and sale of finished output are designed to serve this end.

The CEMA session approved proposals for stage-by-stage restructuring of the machinery for multilateral cooperation and socialist economic integration and for CEMA activity. It was noted that the improvement of the cooperation mechanism should be effected gradually, as domestic and external conditions mature, bearing in mind the CEMA member-countries' interest and the work they are performing on the improvement of their national economic mechanisms.

Bulgaria, Hungary, the SRV, the GDR, the Republic of Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR, and the CSSR confirmed the accord reached earlier on the gradual formation of conditions for the free movement of goods, services, and other production factors among them with a view to forming a unified market in the long term, having studied the prerequisites for this in advance.

In 1990, on the basis of the Executive Committee report on the results of the work performed, measures will be coordinated for the further improvement of the mechanism of multilateral cooperation and socialist economic integration.

Progress in implementing the CEMA member-countries' Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress through the year 2000 and its priority avenue—"the computerization [elektronizatsiya] of the national economy"—was analyzed.

While noting definite advances in this field, the CEMA session drew attention to existing difficulties and unused potential. The implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress is so far failing to exert adequate influence in terms of enabling the CEMA member-countries to scale progressive heights of scientific and technical progress. Measures were defined aimed at the consistent implementation of the program and above all at ensuring that scientific and technical developments comply with the leading world standards and at accelerating the introduction of their results into production. Work on the renewal of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Development will be continued.

After emphasizing the special importance of the work being done in the sphere of computerization, particularly in creating a modern element base of electronic engineering products as the basis of means and systems of automation in all spheres of the national economy, the CEMA member-countries agreed to implement additional measures to develop the electronics industry.

The session devoted considerable attention to the development of CEMA's economic relations with third countries, as well as contacts with the United Nations and international economic organizations.

The sitting noted the broadening of ties between CEMA and the SFRY and expressed readiness to continue broadening and deepening cooperation between the CEMA member-countries and other socialist states.

In the context of the tasks of the CEMA member-countries' economic development the session noted the great significance of external conditions relating to the international political and economic situation.

Setting forth the views of their countries' parties and governments on international political issues, the delegation leaders emphasized that certain favorable trends have now emerged as a result of the efforts of the socialist states and all peoples and forces of peace, reason, and realism. At the same time, the present international situation remains complex and contradictory. In this connection the CEMA member-countries consider it necessary to increase constructive efforts with a view to improving the international situation and making further progress in the matter of strengthening security and peace, disarmament—above all, nuclear disarmament—and the development of trust and all-around international cooperation. It is their conviction that switching the funds released as a result of disarmament to the needs of economic and social development, including aid to developing countries, accords with the interests of ensuring stability in the world economy and peace throughout the world.

The deterioration in the developing countries' economic position because of inequitable conditions of exchange within the framework of the world capitalist economy and the growth of foreign debt is particularly alarming.

The CEMA member-countries confirm their stand in favor of a radical restructuring of the entire system of world economic ties on a just, democratic basis, the establishment of a new international economic order, and the ensuring of international economic security for all states. They will continue to pursue a policy of broadening and improving cooperation with developing countries and will promote the strengthening of their economic autonomy and political independence and the fair resolution of the problem of their foreign debts.

Attention was drawn to the need to further enhance the efficiency of the work of the mixed commissions on CEMA cooperation with developing countries.

The session deemed it necessary to broaden and enrich relations among states belonging to different socioeconomic systems, to introduce new forms of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation and production and technological collaboration, and to seek to remove obstacles in the way of developing mutually advantageous economic relations.

The session welcomed the signing of the joint declaration on the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC. The signing of the declaration is the first step in the development of relations between two major international economic organizations, which opens up the way to mutual cooperation in spheres of common interest.

The session believes that the normalization of CEMA-EEC relations and the establishment of official relations between individual CEMA member-countries and European communities will make a weighty contribution to realizing the CSCE Final Act and will contribute to the further development of international economic cooperation as an important factor of economic growth and social progress and to the improvement of the political climate in Europe and the world.

It was emphasized that the CEMA member-countries will continue to make every effort and will show political will to raise their economic cooperation to a qualitatively new level.

The session sitting took place in a businesslike, comradesly atmosphere, in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding.

Ryzhkov Interviewed

LD0807084888 Prague CTK in English 0750 GMT
8 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 8 (CTK)—The CMEA member states confirmed at the 44th session their resolve to radically restore the system of mutual cooperation and also

adopted important decisions widening the possibility of using new forms and methods of cooperation corresponding to the requirements of time, Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov said in an interview carried by today's RUDE PRAVO.

The Soviet premier added that such an approach to problems gives rise to the conviction that the intensification of mutual relations will have a rising trend. "In this way agreements achieved at the working session of the leading representatives of the communist and workers parties of CMEA countries in November 1986 will be put into practice. This means that cooperation will become a motive force of the intensification of social production and the raising of the living standard of the people", Nikolay Ryzhkov said.

He added that it would be in the interest of all CMEA states to consider a more accurate specification of duties in CMEA documents and agreements and an improved control of their realization. It is not ruled out that the experience of the EEC might come in handy to a greater or smaller extent.

Nikolay Ryzhkov mentioned the principle of voluntarism, expressing the democratic character of the CMEA. This does not imply that voluntarism means that CMEA resolutions are not binding. After the individual countries accept them, they are obliged to ensure the fulfillment of joint decisions, he said, pointing out that CMEA not always fully controlled the fulfillment of these resolutions.

Referring to the development of direct relations between Soviet and Czechoslovak enterprises, he said "The results achieved in this sphere are still less than modest. Only 25 per cent of cooperating enterprises established production cooperation. The volume of mutual deliveries have so far not had any effect on the growth of our trade turnover", he said, and stressed the need to improve the existing mechanism of cooperation.

The CMEA session discussed ways of speeding up work of Soviet and Czechoslovak economists and other specialists in the sphere of fixing prices, creating financial instruments and legal conditions.

Referring to the 19th Soviet Communist Party conference, Nikolay Ryzhkov said that the strategy of restructuring had received huge moral and political support at the conference. It clearly laid down the tactics in carrying out economic changes.

He further mentioned the growing trends in the USSR towards improving the socio-economic situation, and said that, however, structural changes in the economy as a whole are going on slowly. The results of the 19th CPSU Conference are a stimulus to develop the economic reform and to speedily introduce the new economic mechanism.

Asked for his opinion of the economic reform in Czechoslovakia, Nikolay Ryzhkov said that "the reforms in the USSR and in Czechoslovakia are essentially alike. They are based on one and the same principle—the transition to a full cost accounting system. However, judging by official reports, the economic reform in Czechoslovakia, similarly as that in the Soviet Union, has not resulted in sufficiently deep qualitative changes in economic development. Our countries must make a cardinal transition from the extensive to the intensive type of reproduction. There is no doubt that we can do it better and more quickly if we develop mutual cooperation and socialist integration", the Soviet premier stressed.

Comparison of Ryzhkov-Messner Talks

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 6 July carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on the talks between the USSR's Ryzhkov and the PPR's Messner.

The PRAVDA report entitled "Talk Held" has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 6 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 8, and reveals the following variation:

Page 8, second column, paragraph six, last sentence reads in PRAVDA: "...socialist economic integration. The conversation was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere." (adding sentence)

Pact Defense Ministers Depart Moscow
LD0807115588 Moscow TASS in English 1153 GMT
8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 8 TASS—The allied army delegations which attended a Moscow meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Defence Ministers' Committee left the Soviet capital for home today.

Officials Discuss POW's, Afghanistan, China
PM0807100188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Ivanko and G. Charodeyev report: "Workers Put Questions to Diplomats. Meeting at S. Ordzhonikidze 'Stankostroitelnyy Zavod'"]

[Text] On the initiative of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the aktiv of the Soviet Peace Movement [Sovetskoye dvizheniye za mir] had a meeting with leaders of the USSR Foreign Ministry in a shop at Moscow's S. Ordzhonikidze "Stankostroitelnyy Zavod" Production Association. It was the first dialogue between representatives of official diplomacy and people's diplomacy. USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Yu.M. Vorontsov and Deputy Ministers A.A. Bessmertnykh and I.A. Rogachev participated.

People's diplomacy is now playing a more important role than ever, it was pointed out during the exchange of opinions. This is accounted for primarily by the fact that its efforts are being embodied in specific measures. At the same time, the concept of the new political thinking advanced by our state has given rise to a number of foreign policy initiatives aimed at a peaceful tomorrow. Official diplomacy and people's diplomacy must complement each other and pool their efforts to improve mutual understanding among the peoples and strengthen peace on earth.

The most acute and urgent problems of international life and USSR foreign policy were discussed.

Many notes from the machine tool builders concerned events in Afghanistan.

Yu. Vorontsov: To date, approximately 23,000 Soviet soldiers and officers have been withdrawn from Afghanistan. Official statements and the press have repeatedly spoken of the fact that Pakistan is poorly fulfilling the Geneva agreements. These agreements contain a balance of pledges: Pakistan's pledge not to interfere in Afghanistan's internal affairs and to dismantle any mechanism of interference; and the Soviet Union's pledge to withdraw its troops. This balance must be maintained.

Questions have also arisen regarding the Soviet soldiers who have been captured. We are struggling persistently to secure our guys' release. In all, 312 people are missing. Some of them are dead, but many are in captivity. We are constantly discussing this with the International Red Cross and with Pakistan.

So far, unfortunately, Pakistan has found no one. But the Americans—just imagine—have found several of our guys and dragged them off to their own territory. We know perfectly well that they are in the United States. But we are not permitted to meet with them. Their fate is complicated; they have been intimidated and their actions are being controlled. And we have thorough

knowledge that one of them has actually ended up in a U.S. jail, allegedly "for improper behavior." He is somewhere in the San Francisco region. We are seeking an opportunity to visit him in jail. The U.S. authorities promise that such an opportunity will be provided. [Vorontsov]

The plant workers asked this question: Why do the Geneva accords say not a word about Soviet prisoners of war?

Yu. Vorontsov: The agreement was concluded between Afghanistan and Pakistan after 6 years of talks. The United States and the USSR are only guarantors of that agreement. Pakistan is not officially involved in the war; it is known, however, from whose territory hostilities are being conducted. Legally, therefore, there is no discussion of prisoners of war between Afghanistan and Pakistan or of captured Soviet soldiers. The prisoners are in the hands of rebels who are not a signatory of the Geneva accords. This is what they say about this: "Yes, we have prisoners, but we are keeping hold of them and have no intention of exchanging them with anyone. Many of our people are in jail in Kabul, you know." This is the only discussion they are prepared to undertake. Incidentally, such a discussion is possible.

Question: Have China's territorial claims on the Soviet Union been abandoned?

I. Rogachev: Officially, the Chinese side does not make such claims in any bilateral talks. I want to emphasize that the atmosphere in our relations is quite different now. I believe that we can be optimistic about the resolution of border issues with the PRC. There are no grounds for speaking about Chinese territorial claims on us. [Rogachev ends]

The time allotted for the meeting was coming to an end, but questions were still coming from the floor of the hall. One worker inquired: What does restructuring mean, specifically for the Foreign Ministry? Yu. Vorontsov took the microphone:

"Cadres are our chief concern. We are promoting young people. Relatively young department chiefs have appeared among us, people in their forties. We probably must also implement such a policy in Soviet embassies. But the old belief prevails that they have rather little experience. What if something were suddenly to happen? Who would be accountable? Ours is a hot shop. We must move forward, go on to better quality in work..."

At a suggestion from the hall, a statement was adopted condemning the U.S. actions which led to the tragic loss of the Iranian airliner over the Persian Gulf.

Further Report on Meeting

*LD0707190888 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in English 1400 GMT 7 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] A meeting of representatives of citizens diplomacy and official diplomacy has been held in Moscow on the initiative of the Soviet Peace Committee. It was held in a workshop of a large machine building plant in Moscow, and present at the meeting with the workers were Deputy Foreign Ministers Yuliy Vorontsov, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, Igor Rogachev, writers Genrikh Borovik, Anatoliy Ananyev, Cosmonauts Svetlana Savitskaya and Georgiy Grechko, as well as other public dignitaries. Covering this meeting was our correspondent Viktor Yenzikeyev, and here is the story he has filed:

The white collars of diplomats, it must be said, looked most unusual in the workshop where the employees are accustomed to the roaring of machines and oil-stained overalls. Yet this outward discrepancy proved to be false. This became clear just as soon as the chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, Genrikh Borovik, introduced the visitors. The diplomats took off their suit coats and hung them right on the backs of the chairs and the employees, without any feeling of shyness, let loose their barrage of questions. Now, the first question was about the Iranian Airbus that was shot down by the Americans in the Persian Gulf. Replying to that question, Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov said the following:

When 298 people meet their death at once, this of course is a real tragedy, says Yuliy Vorontsov. The circumstances in which it occurred makes it unforgivable for those who so freely resort to the use of arms so far away from their own shores. After all, it must be said that no one invited the U.S. fleet to the Persian Gulf; it was sent there by the United States Administration. On the average, there are about three dozen U.S. fighting ships in the waters of the Gulf. This is not the first time the United States of America is resorting to the use of armed force in the Persian Gulf under various pretexts, and what happened now actually had to happen with such a concentration of weapons and fighting equipment there. The Iranian passenger plane was shot down in plain daylight and there can be no justification for that action.

One of the workers at the meeting between the representatives of citizens and official diplomacy asked the deputy foreign minister for his own personal assessment of the incident, and this is what Yuliy Vorontsov replied:

Our common opinion and my own personal opinion, said Yuliy Vorontsov, is that the United States Navy should not be there because it is dangerous. That is why there can be tragedies like that or even worse. The Persian Gulf needs peace and for this it is necessary to put a stop to the Iran-Iraq war. However, if one should speak about the presence of any kind of naval ships in

that region for the reason of protecting shipping, then they should be the vessels of the United Nations, and I think the creation of a United Nations fleet would be not only possible but useful.

The next question concerned the settlement of the situation in Afghanistan and observance of the Geneva accords by the sides involved. This question, too, was addressed to Yuliy Vorontsov.

At the moment, already about 23,000 soldiers and officers have been removed from Afghanistan and by 15 August, according to the Geneva accords, the Soviet Union must pull out half of its military contingent, that is, 50,000 servicemen. We are most seriously concerned, said Yuliy Vorontsov, that Pakistan is poorly fulfilling its commitments stemming from the Geneva accords. The Soviet Foreign Ministry and the Government of Afghanistan have sent the United Nations more than 30 complaints on this account. And if Pakistan continues to violate the accords, then we can again examine the question about the rate or schedule of pulling our troops out of there.

The representatives of the Foreign Ministry had a kind of a breather when the question came up of giving an assessment of the activities of citizen diplomacy in our country. Genrikh Borovik took the floor:

If we compare the signing of the INF Treaty by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan to the apex of a pyramid, he said, then it is clear to one and all that such a pyramid must have a foundation. So, we view citizen diplomacy as playing the part of the foundation of that pyramid. We consider that the main achievement is that citizens diplomacy is becoming a truly grassroots movement, free from all standard patterns, and stereotypes, and program measures. Today there is probably not a single aspect of foreign policy that is beyond the field of vision of Soviet public opinion.

The next to take the floor was writer Anatoliy Ananyev, who is the deputy chairman of the national peace committee:

Any phenomenon, any event which occurs artificially dies out, declared Anatoliy Ananyev. And everything that comes into being naturally lives on and develops and acquires more strength. Citizens diplomacy came into being at a difficult time of the Cold War and began to spread all over the world. And in our country this movement is steadfastly picking up steam. And an indication that our activity is being acknowledged could be seen in the invitation to the Soviet delegation, consisting of representatives of the public, to participate in the work of the Third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Disarmament, where we tabled our plan of action.

It must be said that the employees displayed no shyness whatsoever in asking the leaders of the Foreign Ministry about the problems they were interested in. At times the meeting looked like a progress report of the diplomats on the work they had done. For instance, a straightforward question was asked about what errors and shortcomings had been made in the work of the foreign political establishment lately. Unfortunately, such errors and shortcomings did occur. The leader of the research center [as heard], Vladimir (?Shustov), admitted that our country should not have left itself to become involved in the arms race launched by the United States. More active efforts should have been undertaken on the matter of reducing United States naval forces, something which Washington is stubbornly resisting. The committed errors were poorly analyzed. And the same holds true for setbacks in mutual relationships with certain developing countries. In particular, Vladimir (?Shustov) said the following:

In many countries, says Vladimir (?Shustov), we directed all the funds and means towards building gigantic enterprises. At the same time, apparently we should have made use of the financial and other resources for developing such branches of the economy that are more in the eye of the public of those countries, something that they need. The output of agricultural products, domestic craft industries, and so on. That is something in which the greater part of the population is interested. Then probably our aid would have been more effective.

The question of Soviet-Chinese relations also came up at the meeting. Many employees pointed out that the present nature of these relations does not comply with the possibilities and the desire of the peoples of these two countries. [passage omitted]

There are, no doubt, in the countries of our listeners, people who get a good hearty round of applause even before they open up their mouth to say anything. And one such person in our country is political observer for the newspaper IZVESTIYA, Aleksandr Bovin. Moreover, he's also one of the deputy chairmen of the Soviet Peace Committee working on a voluntary basis. What is more, Bovin stands out not so much by his [words indistinct] (?size) as his truly profound and extraordinary manner of thinking and analyzing. And this time, too, he remained true to himself. Speaking about the problems that exist in mutual relationships between official and citizens diplomacy:

There exists an objective problem, says Aleksandr Bovin: How to differentiate the interests of diplomacy and the press. All down through the past years a tradition became ingrained that whatever is written by Tom, Dick, Harry, or Bovin is the stand of the Kremlin. And that is the way it is taken abroad. But this tradition must be changed. It is necessary to bring to the minds of the people abroad that the Kremlin's stand is reflected in the statements of TASS, the government, front page editorials of newspapers and magazines. But the opinion of a

journalist, a representative of a public organization, may not necessarily coincide with the official approach. In connection with this, Aleksandr Bovin urged the representatives of the Foreign Ministry to make their contribution to resolving this problem.

The meeting between the representatives of official and citizens diplomacy lasted for more than 2 hours. The participants came to the common conclusion that the policy of glasnost and perestroyka offers the broadest opportunities for cooperation for the sake of world peace. In conclusion, the meeting adopted a statement denouncing the policy of the United States and the NATO countries in the Persian Gulf, a policy which runs counter to the interests of the entire world community.

Dashichev on Afghanistan, SS-20, Berlin Wall
AU0707090488 Hamburg DIE SPIEGEL in German
4 Jul 88 pp 123-127

[Undated interview with Vyacheslav Dashichev, head of the Foreign Policy Department of the Moscow Economics of the World Socialist System Institute, by Joerg R. Mettke and Fritjof Meyer in Moscow: "Thus the Cart Stood Before the Horse"]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Professor Dashichev, since the differences of opinion over the Peace of Brest 70 years ago, there has been no official criticism of foreign policy in the Soviet Union. You are the first one to voice such criticism now in the press.

Dashichev: It is the first attempt to look at our policy in a self-critical way. Without any public discussion we have repeatedly committed considerable mistakes. In particular, with my article in the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA I wanted to abolish the confrontation between East and West by exposing the mistakes of the past.

Our actual mistake was the wrong concept of class struggle in the international arena, which, for instance, cannot explain why a coalition between the socialist Soviet Union and the capitalist United States and England suddenly came about during World War II.

SPIEGEL: You have drawn up a totally new general concept of Soviet diplomacy in the nuclear age, which is based on the balance of power between the big powers.

Dashichev: I refer to Lenin's premise according to which people live in states and the states exist beside other states, with whom they have to be in balance. Any attempt to disturb this balance and gain hegemony over the others leads to tensions, the risk of a military conflict, and finally war. This was the case before World War I and before World War II and this was also what led to the East-West conflict, which is erroneously considered unsolvable in the West. We simply need a new way of thinking in foreign policy, on both sides.

SPIEGEL: Your thesis: If a state suddenly extends its sphere of influence, it elicits a counterreaction: the joining of the other states into an "anticoalition," which defends itself against the strongest state. Therefore, you write, any hegemonism bears the "seed of its own destruction" within itself.

Dashichev: This is true. While in the past hegemonism only exerted political and economic pressure, in the age of the large ideological movements it gains a messianic quality. It tries to force its own ideals and, in the end, its own social system on foreign peoples. Trotsky, for instance, pursued the forcible expansion of the revolution all over the world...

SPIEGEL: ...Which means that you argue with Metternich against Napoleon.

Dashichev: All ideas, including progressive ones, can be abused to force one's own rule on others. In the name of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" Napoleon wanted to become overlord of Europe. This gave rise to the coalition of Russia, England, and Prussia, which defeated him. Any attempt to install one's own hegemony, no matter under which pretense, finally leads to a collapse.

SPIEGEL: In the present...

Dashichev: ...We are experiencing how Islamic fundamentalism, for instance, wants to force its own concepts on everyone else. The plan to bless the whole world with the "American way of life" is also an expression of striving for hegemony. Concerning the Soviet Union, there are still remnants of Stalinism, which was characterized by a hegemonistic policy that had its roots with Trotsky, not with Lenin.

SPIEGEL: After World War II the Soviet Union expanded its sphere of influence to the Elbe River and thus disturbed the European balance. This led to the establishment of an anti-Soviet bloc and the presence of the Americans in Europe.

Dashichev: I would like to explain this more precisely. After World War II, everywhere in Europe and also in Asia there were socialist movements for the establishment of a new social system and liberation from capitalism, which were supported by the masses. These tendencies were not caused by Stalin; they developed from the resistance movements against the Nazis. The Communists also gained prestige in this process because the Soviet Union, that is, socialism, had proved capable of defeating the gigantic military machinery of fascist Germany.

Stalin, however, abused this will of the peoples. It was not necessary to implement the better social system in other countries by imitating that of the Soviet Union.

SPIEGEL: In their 1945 founding appeal the German Communists rejected the imitation of the Soviet model and advocated a parliamentary system.

Dashichev: Everywhere in Eastern Europe people's fronts had developed, in which numerous parties cooperated: political pluralism. However, in 1948 Stalin, with the help of domestic Communists, started to force the Soviet social model on the peoples in Eastern Europe. This had to cause a counterreaction by the West, and the United States started the cold war.

SPIEGEL: Yugoslavia was just able to extricate itself from this patronage, and Albania later followed.

Dashichev: And China, too. These were the first foreign policy setbacks for messianic hegemonism. In Western Europe, however, the opinion developed that the Soviet Union is a dangerous power whose leadership is striving to eliminate bourgeois democracy and establish a Soviet-type communist system all over the world.

SPIEGEL: In the middle of the period of detente this opinion received new impetus with the Soviet Afghanistan adventure in 1979. Was this still hegemonism?

Dashichev: During the second half of the 1970's many tendencies of Stalinist hegemonism were revived. Through ultraleftists' efforts all over the world the Soviet Union's dynamism was turned toward the outside instead of the inside. This was probably Brezhnev's greatest mistake: We directed our energy at the arms race instead of solving our domestic problems.

SPIEGEL: Why were the SS-20 intermediate-range missiles deployed?

Dashichev: Above all because of an exaggerated concept of the danger we were facing. Although it was not realistic with regard to our economic possibilities—just compare our national product with that of the countries we wanted to match—and although it was not necessary, the Soviet Union was to match them by all means.

SPIEGEL: First the other superpower, the United States, and then the rest of the world as a whole. But was this not also a concept of balance?

Dashichev: Only if one measures everything in the categories of armament and the military. But we grossly violated the basic principle of any foreign policy, which was formulated by Clausewitz as follows: The political goals have to correspond to the chances of their realization. This was the miscalculation. The arms race cannot be reduced by participating in it, but only by political means. This was the reason why suddenly the cart stood before the horse.

SPIEGEL: Do you agree with critics in Moscow who say that the deployment of the SS-20's was a mistake with which the Soviet Union caused damage to itself, a self-inflicted wound?

Dashichev: In its study for the leadership at that time our institute reached the conclusion that an absolute zero-option should be achieved with regard to intermediate-range missiles. We also warned against military commitment in Afghanistan.

SPIEGEL: This study was presented by the Foreign Policy Department, which you head, in January 1980.

Dashichev: Yes. The scientists had known for a long time that before one takes the first step he has to know exactly what his last step will be. These were the words Colonel General Ludwig Beck used in warning the German leadership against World War II. This is a correct principle, a holy rule of policy, which should never be forgotten and which has again been proved true by Afghanistan.

At that time we warned: One has to be aware of the consequences, of the last step. One could have deduced the hopelessness of this action from the analysis of the situation—the collapse of detente, the enormous surge in the arms race, and the uniting of all countries against the Soviet Union.

SPIEGEL: Every year the overwhelming majority of the UN states voted against the Soviet Union in the Afghanistan question.

Dashichev: Last time, in 1987, 123 of 153 states voted against the USSR. This was all predictable. But at that time decisions were made by the elite, by a few leaders, by Brezhnev, Suslov, Ustinov, perhaps also Gromyko. Unfortunately, the experts' voices did not have any influence. And the public received no information at all.

SPIEGEL: Now the Soviet Union is withdrawing from Afghanistan without being able to leave the country with settled political conditions. This reminds us of the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, where those who caused the whole situation no longer cared about the outcome.

Dashichev: We did care. We agreed in Geneva that Afghanistan is to be reestablished as an independent, sovereign, nonaligned state and that its government is to be determined by the people. Now the United Nations has to guarantee that there will be no civil war. I think that at some time or other the leaders of both sides in Afghanistan will also realize this. There has been enough bloodshed.

SPIEGEL: In the context of your concept, do you consider the withdrawal as a final liquidation of Soviet hegemonism to gain international trust?

Dashichev: I think the withdrawal has already strengthened the trust of the West and the nonaligned countries in the Soviet Union's policy and has promoted, for

instance, the agreement on nuclear disarmament. This confirms my thesis: Political means, and only political means, can bring about progress in the question of armament.

SPIEGEL: What about eliminating the consequences of hegemonism in Europe? The Central Committee theses for the party conference postulate "the freedom of choosing the system." After Afghanistan, does this also apply to countries where socialism has already been established?

Dashichev: Yes. We are trying to free our relations with the socialist countries from the deformations of the periods under Stalin and Brezhnev, on the basis of total independence, equality, and noninterference. We want to help establish a harmonious, organic relationship with each other, because any pressure and any diktats meet with resistance from the people affected. If we free our relations from the shadows of the past, this will also have a favorable effect on East-West relations.

SPIEGEL: No more military interventions like the one in Prague in 1968?

Dashichev: I think that under today's conditions something like that is impossible. Of course, the West, too, must forego interference and attempts to challenge socialism. The political reforms that are now being tackled here presuppose political stability. In its own interests, the West should not try to endanger them.

SPIEGEL: But what if a socialist state violates the interests of all its fraternal countries with a solitary action? We want to give some examples: A socialist country slides into fascist developments that damage the reputation of socialism as a whole, like Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge. Or a socialist state attacks another one, like China attacked Vietnam in 1979. Or an individual socialist state, which has leverage in international politics, opposes worldwide detente.

Dashichev: Today we must picture the forms of influencing negative developments in socialist countries in a totally different way than in the past. Military action like that in Afghanistan is impossible today. But that does not mean that we have to passively look on when the events like those in Cambodia under Pol Pot occur. By the way, that was not fascism, but only a strange mixture of Stalinism and Maoism; we call that "barracks socialism."

Of course, there can also be tensions with regard to national questions, like those between Hungary and Romania at present. But even the West cannot be interested in such a critical situation, in an economic destabilization, in the same way as we are not interested in a crisis in the West.

SPIEGEL: That is new.

Dashichev: We are really not interested in a destabilization in the West; for instance, in a disruption of the international market. Given today's interdependence, this would also have negative consequences for us.

SPIEGEL: What would you now do in case of a crisis in an East Bloc country that unfavorably affects the entire socialist camp?

Dashichev: In this case, too, the new way of thinking permits only political means: influencing public opinion, a critical press, an appeal to the common sense of the leading forces. In no case, however, is military force permitted. This must finally belong to the past.

SPIEGEL: The withdrawal of all foreign troops from European countries is being discussed. According to Prof Dashichev's principle of balance, if the Americans withdrew from Western Europe, the Soviet troops would withdraw from Eastern Europe at the same time. Have you considered the political consequences if, for instance, your army leaves Poland and then Solidarity possibly comes to power?

Dashichev: If independent organizations are to play a considerable role under the varied forms of democratic socialism—far from state-bureaucratic socialism—then one can imagine that Solidarity in Poland will also assume a more constructive attitude toward the further building of socialism. In the 1980 crisis the presence of Soviet troops hardly influenced the Polish development. They did not intervene.

The reforms can look totally different in every country. The various methods can be totally different from those in the USSR. Socialism has gained such deep roots in Eastern Europe that one hardly has to fear any danger to its basic foundations.

Every country has its own army. If, after mutual agreement, the Soviet troops withdraw from the CSSR, from Hungary, and the GDR, this serves to further stabilize the situation in Europe and promote mutual trust. Of course, this presupposes respect for the social system of another state and also for its national particularities. But this is exactly the core of our new way of thinking in foreign policy.

SPIEGEL: You are depriving NATO of its enemy image.

Dashichev: With very good reason. We need all our strength for our domestic tasks, and this will take centuries. Therefore, we can build the common home of Europe only if hegemonism is finally liquidated.

SPIEGEL: When one talks about reducing tensions in central Europe, the German question comes up.

Dashichev: Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG last year showed that there are still great reserves to be tapped for cooperation between the two German states.

SPIEGEL: And the Berlin Wall?

Dashichev: In Neunkirchen Comrade Honecker said that friendly cooperation between the two German states might lead to a situation in the future in which the borders will no longer separate but unite. I understand this in the following way: If the good-neighborly relations between Berlin and Bonn develop in line with the international conditions, the Wall will disappear in the course of time. The Soviet Union cannot enforce any solution without coordinating it with the GDR Government. And to date the GDR leadership has shown a sensible attitude in this respect; this is proved in the easing of travel regulations over the past years.

SPIEGEL: For the first time since Lenin, the Soviet leadership's new way of thinking puts the peoples' right to self-determination into the foreground again. Does this benefit the Germans?

Dashichev: One day the evolutionary development will solve this problem, too. This is a matter for history. The closer the two German states cooperate in all fields, the more this problem will be defused.

SPIEGEL: And if they cooperate too well, perhaps even start to think about a common state?

Dashichev: I am willing to discuss this hypothetical question. Suppose the trust between the socialist and capitalist states in Europe attains a high level, many economic enterprises of both systems cooperate closely, and joint security is guaranteed by means of a non-attack defense capability of all partners. It would certainly be possible that the social structures also approach each other. And of course, closer interaction of the two German states, in whatever form, is also possible.

SPIEGEL: When could the withdrawal of all foreign troops from European countries be completed, under the most favorable conditions?

Dashichev: We are not all yet prepared for this, not politically, economically, or psychologically. Many preconditions still have to be established for this. In the best of all cases, we can expect this by the end of this century.

SPIEGEL: And how long does perestroika need to turn the Soviet Union into an economically flourishing, democratically organized, socialist, constitutional state?

Dashichev: In the best of all cases it will need an equal amount of time, probably one generation.

SPIEGEL: Prof Dashichev, thank you for this interview.

Gorbachev Cables Cooperative Alliance Congress
LD0707112988 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a message of greeting to participants in the 29th Congress of the International Cooperative Alliance, one of the oldest and biggest organizations, that opens in Stockholm today. It pointed out that the Soviet Union appreciated the services of the alliance in the formation and development of the international cooperative movement. The alliance has promoted of late the solution of global problems common to the whole of humanity and has taken part in the overall efforts aimed at establishing durable peace.

"In the course of the reorganization (perestroika) which is under way in the Soviet Union we adopted a policy of encouraging in every way the cooperative movement, of reviving various kinds of highly effective, independent cooperation and creating conditions for revealing to the maximum its democratic potentialities. Hence our interest in the world cooperative experience", Mikhail Gorbachev wrote.

He expressed hope that the Stockholm congress of the International Cooperative Alliance would be a success, that it would enhance the role of the cooperative movement in the implementation of the more topical tasks facing today the world community of nations.

'International Review' Discusses Week's Events
PM0507144388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[International Review column by Vladislav Drobkov:
"World Over the Week"]

[Text] The events of the past week... Like different musical instruments sounding simultaneously, each of them had its own voice. Sometimes uneasy or even tragic, sometimes bright and joyous. Yet as a whole they all supplemented and enriched each other, merging into a single multithematic, many-voiced symphony of the life and struggle, hopes and disappointments, sufferings and victories of the human race.

The Main Theme [subhead]

There was a main, pivotal theme in this symphony. According to the overall evidence of the world press and statements by state and public figures and political parties in many countries, this theme was the recent 19th All-Union CPSU Conference in Moscow. The report delivered by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the speeches of the party conference delegates became the main events of the week, generating a wide flood of commentaries and responses.

There's no denying that we international affairs journalists have frequently, unjustifiably frequently, written about how "the eyes of all mankind are riveted on Moscow" and how "the whole world is heeding the voice of reason" emanating from the Kremlin. From the immoderate repetition of these assessments which, to put it mildly, are not overburdened with excessive modesty and realism, our own hearing has been dulled. In some people there appeared the certainty of the infallibility of their own assessments and actions in the sphere of international relations. This certainty was encouraged by the flood of complimentary "responses from the peace-loving public," which would always support us in everything with surprising but habitual unanimity.

This inertia is, alas, making itself felt to this day. But, and this is the main thing, it is no longer this inertia which defines our view of the world. From the conference platform we admitted that in the period of stagnation the methods of administration through command did not bypass the foreign policy field, and that not all our initiatives and actions were without error. Without denying the genuine achievements and services of Soviet foreign policy, we ourselves began its restructuring on the basis of the principles of the new political thinking, and achieved on this path obvious successes truly recognized by "the whole world." Under their influence the international situation has nonetheless started to improve, albeit not as rapidly as we would like. The glasnost and restructuring developing inside the Soviet Union and influencing our country's foreign policy sphere have lent it more conviction, effectiveness, and dynamism.

In just a few years, the attitude toward our country on the part of that same world public whose opinion we cited so often has changed decisively. Today it may be said with full responsibility and sincerity that the attention of foreign governments, publics, and leading mass media was indeed riveted on Moscow, where the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference was working during those days. Washington, London, and Beijing were following closely, with a magnifying glass, as they say, what was happening in the Kremlin... And that is in no way surprising. The conference, although it was mainly devoted to an examination of our country's domestic problems and development prospects, promised to also influence the course of international affairs, the distribution of forces in the world, and the progress of mankind. It is no accident that the influential British journal THE ECONOMIST recently began an article about the changes in the USSR with the words "Will restructuring work? There are not many questions on which the nature of the world in the 21st century depends to such a degree."

The overall nature of the commentaries is as a whole objective, interested, and reflecting the true state of affairs. As we know, this has not always been the case. This is also a sign of the times. Respectable news

agencies, television companies, newspapers, and journals in the West are gradually departing from the stereotypes which have been developed over decades, departing from the distorted interpretation and discrediting of any events and phenomena in the life of our country and the CPSU. Consequently, the new political thinking is also taking root, replacing the "image of the enemy" with the image of a neighbor on the planet who, although he does not resemble you, is just as human, with exactly the same right to choose his political, ideological, or social priorities independently. It is taking root, albeit with difficulty, on "the other side."

Our press, including PRAVDA, has already published the first responses from the world public and press to the work of the party conference; there is no need to repeat them. I merely draw readers' attention to the not very numerous but highly indicative statements by those opposed to establishing new, more humane and realistic relations in the international arena. As we can see, they too have not been silent recently. They have sought to splash their bucket of black paint into the above-mentioned flood of commentaries and assessments.

Thus THE NEW YORK TIMES commentator Safire has urged the West not to hurry to meet the USSR halfway. "We don't want to be late for the train," he wrote on the second day of the conference's work. "But nor do we want to finance a respite which will enable our enemies to avoid real changes. Let's look at what the USSR is doing to save money in foreign acts of aggression and what it is doing with regard to the upheavals in East Europe." Similar "warnings" can be found in the commentaries of other Western newspapers and in a number of politicians' statements. Safire and those who think like him thus want to assume, come what may, the role of self-appointed arbiters who undertake to judge not only the Soviet Union's "conduct" but also how the peoples and governments of foreign countries should react to it. These countries, God forbid, should not succumb to the temptation to "finance a respite" for their "enemies."

What can be said on this subject? Restructuring and glasnost in the USSR are our vital, internal concern, a concern which we suffered for and which we have initiated. It is simply senseless to portray them as "a new maneuver by the Kremlin" for Western consumption. Indeed, it seems to me that the authors of these accusations and warnings are not so naive as to believe their own words. They are guided by an entirely specific "social mandate": to cast a shadow on any of our country's actions, prevent the thaw which has emerged in the international climate, and impede the nuclear disarmament process.

It was perhaps the Paris newspaper LE FIGARO which cited more clearly than the others the real cause for the anxiety among those who wish us ill. Incidentally, this newspaper has never been known for its sympathies for the USSR. So LE FIGARO, commenting on the party conference's work and the report delivered by the CPSU

Central Committee general secretary, wrote: "A new situation has taken shape in the world where the 'image of the enemy' is being destroyed. The Soviet Union is no longer perceived in the West, as used to be the case, as a state presenting a danger. That is why NATO has reason to be worried over the destruction of the idea of the USSR as the enemy. In brief, the Soviet Union has achieved successes in the field of foreign policy. The USSR's international positions have improved considerably."

After these words LE FIGARO could not, it is true, refrain from adding: "But it is a case rather of real deeds and of the view of Western public opinion of the Soviet Union." We will forgive the Paris newspaper this "make-weight" to entirely sensible opinions. As we can see, you cannot change your nature: LE FIGARO is here, LE FIGARO is there. It is something else which is important: NATO does indeed have reason to worry, because without the "image of the enemy" it is not that simple to achieve an increase in military expenditure every year.

At an Impasse [subhead]

If we continue the musical simile, then the sound of nearly every instrument can be detected in the development of the situation in Central America. This week one could hear the drumming of threats from Washington; the malevolent hum of the contras, trying to disrupt the search for a peace settlement in Nicaragua; and notes of optimism over the constructive new steps by that country's government and the states taking part in the Contadora process.

In the past few days U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz has toured the countries of the region. He visited Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica. The main aim of the trip, the secretary of state told U.S. congressmen, was to demonstrate the United States' solidarity with its Central American neighbors. But its real point, the U.S. press bears out, is to try to win their support or at least their tacit approval for U.S. policy in the region. The point is, as White House spokesman Fitzwater himself admits, that U.S. policy with regard to Nicaragua has entered an impasse. "The administration and the President," Fitzwater said recently, "are concerned that we have failed to achieve success at the peace talks. We are faced with the question of what to do next. In that sense 'impasse' is the right word..."

I should like to believe that the U.S. leaders, who have flung hundreds of millions of dollars in aid at the contras, have really understood that they have failed to achieve success. But, of course, not at the peace talks. After all, it is Washington and its hirelings from the ranks of the contras who have torpedoed the talks so many times. They have failed to achieve success in the field of undermining the people's power in Nicaragua. But, as we can see, the time for this "illumination" has not yet come. Instead the Washington administration, which has not yet extricated itself from the scandal over the illegal arms deliveries to the contras, in which they used money obtained from similarly illegal deals with

Iran, is now seeking loopholes to circumvent the decision of the U.S. Congress to halt the financing of the Nicaraguan armed opposition. What most worries the administration is not the impasse at the talks with Nicaragua, which were recently broken off again through the fault of the contra leaders, but the impasse situation in the struggle against its own Congress, which is refusing to finance the White House's Central American adventure. As THE WASHINGTON POST wrote, it is no accident that "the supporters of the contras in Congress—both Republicans and Democrats—are now trying to draft a proposal on appropriations for the contras which would include military aid."

But while this work is underway in the corridors of Congress and the administration, the secretary of state is touring his neighbors and trying to persuade them to support Washington's actions, which undermine the prospects of a peaceful political settlement in Nicaragua, a settlement which is advocated by the eight countries of the Contadora group and the support group. At the beginning of the week their foreign ministers held a meeting in Mexico at which they urged all Central American countries to promote the cause of peace in the region, to resume political dialogue, and to put an end to military support for the irregular forces. They stressed that the use of force, the encouragement of confrontation, threats of armed intervention, and the arms race impede talks and peace efforts. Through Daniel Ortega the Nicaraguan Government reaffirmed its readiness for compromise and spoke of its intention, despite the talks with the contras that were broken off, to refrain for another month from offensive military operations against the contra forces. But the contras are playing a different tune, a tune called and paid for by Washington.

Uneasy Notes [subhead]

This week uneasy notes were heard which it would be wrong to ignore. I shall mention two facts in this connection.

The first is a statement by U.S. Vice President G. Bush. During his campaign for the Republican Party presidential nomination, G. Bush spoke at the local international affairs council in San Francisco. He said a lot about the processes taking place on the planet and about America's special role in the world. He also touched on events in the USSR. How does he see them?

"The iron door has creaked open and the fresh air of freedom has blown through the chink," Bush said in a highly metaphorical way. "Will this door slam shut again, as has already happened in the past, or will it open wide to meet the new era in which the world will rely on the only genuine and firm basis: mutual interests and the interconnection between free societies? We do not know at present. But we do know that this hope, which comes from glasnost, from restructuring, has not arisen in a vacuum but in the context of the regeneration of American might.... We must remember that the 'cold war' has

not ended. We must have enough boldness to take advantage of this opportunity created by the changes, but at the same time be ready for an 'extended conflict.'"

Excuse me, but doesn't the recent entire course of U.S.-Soviet relations refute the logic of the supporters of the "cold war" and an "extended conflict?" Why does the White House contender draw in advance such grim prospects for the further development of relations between our two countries? You need, perhaps, a special view of the outside world to seriously view restructuring and glasnost in the USSR "in the context of the regeneration of American might." It is curious that THE NEW YORK TIMES gave a highly precise political assessment of Bush's words. It described them as a repetition of President Reagan's speeches from the years when Reagan viewed the USSR as "the evil empire."

And the second fact. The British JANE'S DEFENSE WEEKLY reported recently, citing General Kirk, commander of the U.S. Air Force in Europe, that F-111 bombers with nuclear cruise missiles on board could be transferred to Britain by the end of the present decade. These bombers are designed to "compensate" for the forthcoming elimination of U.S. ground-launched Pershing-2 and cruise missiles under the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The British Defense Ministry has hastened to state that this question is "not being examined." But it was obliged to admit that NATO is studying the question of moving long-range aircraft now based in the United States to West Europe.

That is why there is no holding back the supporters of militarist music who are seeking, come what may, to muffle the melody of hope for the elimination of at least a proportion of the nuclear arsenals! This should be remembered.

Research Balloon Comes Down Near Denmark LD0607222688 Moscow TASS in English 2212 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Stockholm July 7 TASS—A Soviet research balloon, which was drifting Wednesday over south Sweden, fell into the Kattegat Strait, north of Grenaa, Denmark, at 8:32 P.M. local time (10:32 P.M. Moscow time), Swedish news agency reported.

A Danish Coast Guard ship has been sent to the area to pick up a container with research equipment from the balloon.

The 720-kilogram balloon was to have landed in the area of [word indistinct] of Cheboksary but continued drifting due to technical faults.

The Swedish side had supposed that the balloon would land in south Sweden. However, gusts of western winds were stronger than expected and the balloon reached Denmark.

In accordance with the set time programme, the mechanism of the balloon's self-destruction was to have been activated on 9:00 P.M. Moscow time on Wednesday, and the container carrying research equipment, parachuted.

At about 9:30 P.M. Moscow time, the Danish military command, which was monitoring the balloon's drift, noticed the balloon change its form and one of its parts separate from it.

Retrieved by Danish Vessel

LD0707131588 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Copenhagen July 7 TASS—A Danish Coast Guard ship has retrieved a Soviet hydrogen balloon, a parachute and 12 plastic containers, weighing a total of 120 kilograms, from water, the Danish information agency RITZAUS BUREAU reported.

Murakhovskiy Meets With Afghan UN Official

LD0707154288 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, today received Sadruddin Agha Khan, co-ordinator for the UN humanitarian and economic assistance relating to Afghanistan, in Moscow on a business visit.

They discussed Soviet participation in the programmes of multilateral assistance to Afghanistan.

Petrovskiy Receives UN Administrative Official

PM0507102788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report under general rubric "Official Reports"]

[Text] C. Mselle, chairman of the UN Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, visited the Soviet Union from 18 June to 2 July at the invitation of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

He was received by V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. A wide range of questions was discussed, including the financial position of the United Nations, the organization's cadre problems, and the need to enhance its prestige and role.

Pyadyshev Cited on 'World Information Program'

LD0107054888 Moscow TASS in English 2150 GMT
30 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 30 TASS—TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov reports:

A comprehensive system of peace and security which is now assuming real contours is unthinkable without broad and open interaction and cooperation in the humanitarian areas, specifically, in the information area,

USSR representative Boris Pyadyshev said on Thursday at a regular session of the U.N. Committee on Information under way at the United Nations Headquarters.

The essence of the Soviet Union's idea of a world information program under the United Nations auspices is that this universal international organisation should assume a greater care about the mode, directions and character of the spread of information, he said. What is the point of the matter is to rid the world information streams of confrontation, of unfriendliness with regard to other countries and people. And the mass media would be guided by the aims of consolidating confidence among states, bringing people closer together, dispelling fears and overcoming lack of understanding.

"The United Nations Organisation can act in this process as a natural centre that would take into consideration the interests of separate states and the world community as a whole. Such a call for a more vigorous, honest and balanced information exchange reflects the favourable changes taking place in international affairs of late. An eloquent example of this is how the United Nations information service was explaining the essence of the Geneva accords on the settlement of the situation regarding Afghanistan. What is needed now is to follow closely how the sides observe their commitments under these accords.

The revolutionary restructuring under way in the USSR whose further directions are now discussed in Moscow at the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU puts the Soviet mass media on the advanced lines of morality, national character and responsibility, the Soviet representative said. We cannot but share the concern of those who point to the abnormal state of things under which the overwhelming part of the world mass media is controlled by a handful of states. The situation in this area, far from improving, perhaps becomes even more acute. Historic and cultural traditions, originality of peoples of many Asian, African and Latin American countries are jeopardized.

The third special session of the United Nations Assembly on disarmament ended recently. But that major event in international affairs was given a very meager coverage by the world information media. Is this not the reflection of the fact that the arms race has just been slightly reduced and that only a slight hope has been created as regards ridding the world of nuclear menace? For voices sound now whether disarmament has not gone too far. Some circles call for caution in the face of new, so to say, "menace", that of disarmament.

If anyone should be cautious it is supporters of disarmament, the USSR representative noted. And it is direct obligation of the mass media to ensure that disarmament becomes a steadily dominant tendency.

CSCE Meeting Entering 'Decisive Stage'
*LD0207132288 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT
2 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 2 TASS—TASS political news analyst Vladimir Matyash writes:

The Vienna meeting of the states, parties to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, has entered the decisive stage.

Speaking at a plenary meeting on Friday, the head of the Soviet delegation, Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev said that the Soviet delegation fully and entirely subscribes to the call that efforts be exerted to see to it that the work of the Vienna forum should be crowned with substantial and well-balanced results, possibly as soon as by the end of July this year. This would make it possible to get down to realisation of a vast programme, elaborated over 18 months, the programme of interaction of 35 states in the military-political, trade-economic, ecological and humanitarian areas, which can raise all-European cooperation to a qualitatively new level. Increasingly more realistic becomes a possibility for elaborating the mandate of future negotiations on reduction of troops and conventional armaments in Europe and for their opening as early as this year.

The future of the all-European process will be determined not only by what text of the final document is adopted in Vienna, but also by the subsequent concrete measures that the participants in the meeting will be able to agree upon. The tree planted in Helsinki in 1973 should gain in strength and grow, sending new shoots forth.

In this connection the USSR declares for the early resumption of the conference on confidence- and security-building measures and on disarmament in Europe. It is difficult to overestimate the significance of this event, since it is bound to develop the tangible results, attained at the Stockholm conference, to make a new step towards consolidation of confidence and security, lessening of the danger of military confrontation in the continent.

The Soviet Union favours convocation of a conference on economic cooperation in Europe. The time has come to directly attend to organizational matters of the conference. The USSR actively supports also the proposal of Bulgaria and a number of other countries that an all-European conference on questions of the environment be held.

The Soviet Union also attaches great significance to convocation of a conference of the Mediterranean countries to consider ways and means of further compliance with the obligations, adopted by the participating states within the framework of the Conference on Security and

Cooperation in Europe, to promote consolidation of security and development of cooperation in that region, including the area of protection of ecological systems.

It is to be recalled that at the very beginning of the Vienna meeting Foreign Minister of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze tabled the proposal that a representative all-European conference for the development of humanitarian cooperation be held in Moscow. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which was held in Moscow these days, made a new major step forward in carrying out the course of democratization of our society, humanization of international relations, the course providing for man, his interests and rights be the centre of all deeds in every country and the whole world.

The Soviet Union expects from the participants in the Vienna meeting concrete considerations on their readiness to complete the Vienna forum successfully and in a balanced way in the near future so that it should bring genuine peace to the all-European home.

EEC-CEMA Meeting Opens in Greece
*LD0207123488 Moscow TASS in English 1109 GMT
2 Jul 88*

[Text] Athens July 2 TASS—An international conference, Common Market meeting with CMEA, opened in Vouliameni, not far from the Greek capital, today.

It was organised on the initiative of the Socialist parties group of the European Parliament, as well as the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), Greece's ruling party.

The two-day conference is being attended by delegations from all European CMEA countries, including the Soviet Union, as well as the EEC member states.

This major international forum will discuss issues dealing with trade between CMEA and the European Economic Community and the promotion of new forms of cooperation, including the establishment of joint enterprises and technology exchanges.

The conference near Athens is assuming special importance in the light of the recent signing in Luxembourg of the joint declaration on the establishment of official relations between CMEA and EEC.

The participants in the conference were greeted by Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, who emphasized that the meeting should contribute to the rapprochement of the two economic blocs.

Talks on East-West Joint Bank Reported
AU0507080788 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
2-3 Jul 88 p 9

[Text] Vienna—The economic opening of the USSR is now spreading to industry and financing. The Soviet Foreign Trade Bank and a group of European banks, including the Austrian Creditanstalt, have started talks on the founding of a joint bank.

Otto-Karl Finsterwalder, member of the Creditanstalt Board of Directors, told DIE PRESSE that these talks also involve banks from Finland, France, Italy, and Germany. A Japanese bank may also be included later. A study group has been ordered to examine this project. The new bank is to deal with onshore and offshore business.

There are still some obstacles to be eliminated before the joint bank can be founded. Current Soviet laws do not envisage activities of foreigners in this area. In order to realize such a project, several laws would have to be changed.

According to Finsterwalder, the CSSR also has plans to establish joint East-West banks.

'Secret' COCOM Meeting Discusses PRC
LD0407164488 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT
4 Jul 88

[Text] Paris July 4 TASS—A secret meeting of the Coordinating Committee on Export Controls with Socialist Countries (COCOM) opened here today. It is attended by representatives of 15 NATO countries and Japan, all members of this Paris-based organisation.

The current meeting will discuss the further moderation of COCOM's requirements with regard to goods and technologies sold to China.

The AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE news agency says the United States, accusing China of selling missiles to Iran and Saudi Arabia, may undertake a counteraction.

However, most West European countries and Japan are interested in further developing trade with China because of an enormous potential of the Chinese market.

United States & Canada

U.S. Criticized for Downing Iranian Airbus

Captain 'Victim' of Policy

LD0707123088 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Commentary by Igor Pavlov]

[Text] The blame for the destruction of Iran's Airbus with over 290 passengers may lie with the Iranian air pilot, not with Captain Will Rogers of the cruiser "Vincennes". Such is the thrust of numerous American accounts of the tragedy in the Persian Gulf that happened on Sunday. Our observer Igor Pavlov writes the following:

As a rule, American accounts of the tragedy begin with a show of regret for the loss of so many innocent lives. Depending on the qualifications and political leanings of the journalist, the regret may be genuine or token, but eventually the accusing finger is pointed at Iran. The list of American charges is long and runs like this: The pilot had no right to fly into a combat zone; he did not respond to U.S. attempts to establish radio contact; the pilot had no right to drop altitude and approach the "Vincennes" in what appeared to be an attacking pattern; it is hard to see what the U.S. Navy could have done to avoid firing missiles in self-defense.

The list of arguments exonerating Captain Rogers and justifying the shoot-down is equally impressive: Prior to the shoot-down, the "Vincennes" was engaged in a fight with Iranian gunboats; Captain Rogers could not tell the French-made Airbus from an F-14 Tomcat because even on the cruiser's most sophisticated radar their blips are almost identical during head-on tracking. The most convincing peace of logic was furnished by THE NEW YORK TIMES the other day. The paper said that because surface ships are extremely vulnerable to missiles, American (?trackers) in the Gulf are being asked to bear an appalling responsibility. If they delay too long in attacking unidentified aircraft, they risk losing their ship. The paper suggested that we put ourselves in Captain Rogers' shoes. No thank you, even if he is proclaimed a national hero! In my view, he is a victim of circumstances or better said, a misguided policy.

There (?were some resisters) inside and outside Congress to the Reagan administration's plan to send American naval vessels to the Gulf to protect shipping there. But the U.S. provides escort only to those ships that fly the Stars and Stripes, so those who had criticized the administration's decision were absolutely right when they warned that such a selective protection of the safety of navigation is no protection at all; rather it is a show of the flag and with it, a show of force. From the very beginning, the White House was out to teach Khomeini a lesson and give Iran a bloody nose. U.S. officials were well aware of the risks involved in sending a naval force

to a region where a long and cruel war was raging. There is hardly a spot on the globe that has not been proclaimed a sphere of vital American interests. The world community seems to be divided into friends and enemies, allies, and adversaries. This being the case, the American military might has to be the only guarantor of peace and stability. It was presumably with that in mind and as a disciplined soldier that Captain Rogers pushed the button twice, sending to death a planeload of innocent people.

'Old Dogmas' Blamed

LD0707090888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1645 GMT 6 Jul 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Vyacheslav Lavrentyev]

[Text] [Lavrentyev] The story of the destruction of the Iranian airliner by the United States is still one of the leading items from the foreign news agencies. U.S. Administration spokesmen are blatantly stirring up a campaign to convince world opinion that the missile attack on the Iranian aircraft was no more than a tragic chance occurrence, caused by technical faults. On Tuesday, President Reagan made his third statement on the subject in the last 2 days. He tried again to justify the actions of the cruiser "Vincennes" by referring to the supposed need to defend itself. I will ask my colleague Aleksandr Malikov to comment on this position.

[Malikov] As you can see, Washington continues to stand its ground. A tragic chance occurrence took place, the story runs. The equipment let us down. Well, let us deal with the equipment first. At a Washington news conference, the Pentagon representative was unable to explain intelligibly to journalists why the cruiser "Vincennes" could not distinguish a passenger airliner from a military aircraft. After all, the Iranian Airbus was three times the size of any fighter. It is, therefore, virtually impossible to confuse them, especially since, as the LOS ANGELES TIMES points out, the U.S. cruiser is equipped with the Aegis anti-aircraft missile defense system, the most modern of all those in the U.S. arsenals. The newspaper explains that it is based on a modern radar device enabling 100 aircraft to be tracked simultaneously within a radius of 2,000 miles; and—perhaps the most important detail—determining the type of the aircraft. So, in light of this statement, the technical error story does not, to put it mildly, look very convincing. Incidentally, even if one allows that nearly 300 passengers died because of a technical fault in a radar system, this proves once again how unreliable even the most sophisticated hardware is, and how dangerous it is to rely on it, no matter whether it is on earth or in space.

And yet the causes of the Iranian airliner tragedy are probably more mundane and, at the same time, far deeper than someone in Washington is trying to depict. For example, one of the possible contenders for the post of U.S. vice president, the prominent black public figure

Jesse Jackson, has expressed the conviction that the missile strike against the Iranian plane was no technical error, nor was it a computer mistake. It was, as he put it, a policy error. If so, there is the question of whether lessons have been learned from the mistake.

A group of U.S. Navy specialists, consisting of six people, has just begun an investigation of the incident involving the Iranian aircraft. It is headed by Rear Admiral William Fogarty. It is scheduled to present its report in 2 weeks' time. But, as AFP reports, it is already rumored that no punishment will ensue. I would remind you that in his last statement, Reagan said bluntly that the U.S. Armed Forces in the region would be prepared to again take defensive action to protect ships and crews. He was supported by George Bush, the current vice president and presidential candidate, who also spoke in Washington. He stressed, in particular, that the U.S. Armed Forces must stay in the Persian Gulf area.

What all this has led to, and may lead to once again, has been shown vividly by the Japanese television company NHK, in a report from its Tehran correspondent. A morgue filled with the bodies of those who died, in plastic bags; sobbing people in the city streets; demonstrations by black-robed women outside the former U.S. Embassy building—that is the real picture of what may come of the stubborn U.S. reluctance to discard old dogmas in its policy, a policy that equates the strength of diplomacy with the caliber of a gun.

'Excuses' Not Accepted

LD0707180688 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

U.S. Vice President George Bush, who is a presidential candidate, said that the captain of the cruiser USS Vincennes, who ordered the downing of the Iranian airliner with 290 passengers on board, acted properly because he "did not want to put those heroic kids of his...more in harm's way."

Many arguments are currently advanced in Washington to justify the actions of the American skipper. They include the impossibility to distinguish on the radar screen between a wide-bodied civilian jetliner and a two-seater fighter, the version about the Iranian airliner veering off the course, and allegations that the aircraft was descending at the time of the missile attack rather than climbing. Some officials go even as far as blaming the Iranian pilot for the tragedy, alleging that he did not react to the warning from the U.S. cruiser because he did not want to speak with the American demon.

There is conclusive evidence pointing to the groundlessness of all Washington's excuses. However, even if all these versions corresponded to reality, the White House reaction to the tragedy sharply destabilised the situation

in the Persian Gulf area. Fully justifying the actions of the captain of the cruiser, who shot down the civilian airliner and alleging that he acted properly, i.e. in line with the rules of engagement, the U.S. Administration actually proclaims itself to have the right to down any aircraft 1,000 miles away from the American shores, if the "heroic kids" from the United States happen to be in the way of this aircraft.

The wording used by George Bush to evaluate the tragedy can even further stimulate the adventurous actions by U.S. naval officers. No one will be surprised if the Vincennes skipper is glorified in the USA, where Lieutenant Calley, who organised the massacre in Songmy, and Lieutenant Colonel North, the hero of Irangate, became the idols of the ultra-conservatives.

The lives of nearly 300 people were sacrificed on July 3 to American neoglobalism. Where are the guarantees that tomorrow a slightly panicking U.S. naval officer will not fire a missile at an Indian, British or Saudi Arabian airliner?

The nature of the adventurist actions by the American military in international waters and airspace over them becomes unpredictable and, consequently, extremely dangerous.

Act 'By No Means Accidental'

LD0707134088 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] The destruction of an Iranian airliner by a missile from an American warship on Sunday, with the death of nearly 300 passengers, is still in the spotlight. Was it a tragic error or a premeditated crime? Viktor Glazunov gives his view:

Predicting trouble is unrewarding, but it is not the predictor's fault if his warnings sometimes come true. There have been many warnings that the growing American military presence in the Gulf could have disastrous effects. Now the disaster has come, causing an outcry around the globe but also calling for a sober analysis.

There are two versions of the incident. Washington blames it on a tragic error. Other sources, however, rule out an error and speak of premeditated aggression. They doubt that the warship's sophisticated radar system could mistake the enormous slow-flying airbus for a small high-speed fighter. I, too, think better of American technology, and THE WASHINGTON POST quotes American military experts as saying a computer error seems unlikely.

This leaves us with two explanations: either the command of the warship ordered the firing of a missile at an unidentified object in a show of cold-blooded carelessness, or it knew well that it was firing at a civilian plane? Could the second be the case? Why not! It fits well with the concept of intimidation, which in the past led the

American military to shell residential areas of Beirut and bomb Libyan cities, causing casualties including children, just as it happened with the Airbus incident. To intimidate, to punish, and to teach a lesson, have become common terms in the speech of American strategists.

Whether we have an error or a show of malicious intent, the incident was bound to happen sooner or later. It was programmed by the American naval build-up in the Gulf. Just as you can't extinguish a fire with petrol, you can't extinguish an armed conflict by sending more troops and weapons to the battlezone. This can only aggravate the conflict, as the Airbus incident has shown. As the Americans have built up their naval presence in the Gulf, shipping has become increasingly perilous there. Now civilian air services are also in danger. More weapons mean more danger. The plane incident is by no means accidental; it is a logical follow up of Washington's short-sighted policies and no official regret or explanations can make up for it. However the incident may be qualified, it points once again to the need for an early American naval withdrawal from the Gulf.

'Self-Defense' View Rejected

PM0707110988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov "Observer's Opinion" under the general heading: "There Is No Escaping Responsibility!"]

[Text] Washington is making an intense effort to distract the peoples' attention from the heinous act perpetrated by the U.S. military toward the Iranian passenger aircraft in the Persian Gulf. The White House announced that the "question is closed." But its efforts are futile. U.S. officers have on their conscience the blood of nearly 300 civilians from various countries, including 66 children, and no subterfuge is going to wipe it away.

Naturally, there has been a wave of angry protests spreading worldwide. The clumsy attempt by the Washington authorities to put it down to a "mistake" by the commanders of the cruiser "Vincennes" has been exposed. For a long time, U.S. press organs have been describing this cruiser as the "best warship in the world." But the legitimate question arises: If the sophisticated electronic apparatus with which the ship is crammed was unable to distinguish a passenger airliner from a supersonic fighter, what can the world expect from, for example, the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), if it is in fact created, in which operations will be carried out by hundreds of thousands of computers?

But this is just one side of the issue. The other, even more important aspect is that the flames from the Airbus blown up by the U.S. missile has brightly illuminated a fact that the Soviet Union and other peace-loving states and all the forces of reason have pointed out more than once: The transformation of the Persian Gulf area into a zone of concentration of U.S. naval and air forces threatens extremely dangerous consequences for mankind.

The justification for introducing the U.S. armada into the Persian Gulf was the need to protect shipping. In fact, as world press data have shown, the threat to shipping has increased as a result of the Pentagon's actions and there have been far more incidents involving ships. Moreover, civil aircraft on normal flights are also in greater danger now. The only conclusion is that the strong-arm policy option is only inflaming the situation.

Does Washington intend to learn any lessons from the tragedy? Certainly not. A State Department spokesman coolly announced: "Don't expect any changes in U.S. policy." Unfortunately, it has to be said that some capitals, for example, London, are clearly playing up to Washington, stating that the United States "has the right to self-defense." But since when has the destruction of passenger aircraft by U.S. naval forces been seen as "self-defense"?

U.S. 'Big Lie' Examined

LD0707192788 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1430 GMT 7 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; commentary by IZVESTIYA political observer Vitaliy Kobyshev]

[Text] Good evening, comrades. In our stern and brutal age, untruths sometimes prove more dangerous than any of the most up-to-date missiles. At the present time, we have been witnessing a big lie.

Let us start with the facts that are well known to everyone. A few days ago, a U.S. cruiser sailing in the Persian Gulf, one of the many superarmed U.S. ships located there, fired two surface-to-air missiles at a totally peaceful Iranian Airbus carrying almost 300 passengers. One of the missiles did its work, and totally innocent men, women, and children perished. The next fact is that the military and then top U.S. authorities declared that the Airbus, whether it had strayed off its course or whether it was for some other reason, was drawing threateningly close to the U.S. cruiser. At a distance of 19 miles, it was tolerated, but when it reached a distance of 9 miles from the U.S. ship, missiles were fired. In this connection, reference was made to data from the Italian Navy, which it is claimed detected the Iranian aircraft outside the air corridor. A further fact is that Rome immediately reported that the Italian naval squadron had at the time been over 100 miles away from the location of the incident, and it was simply senseless to refer to this data. You will agree that this is indeed a strange and unconvincing confusion of facts.

The business began to emit a thoroughly bad smell when it was recalled in Washington that, at one time, there had been something in the Soviet Union to do with a South Korean aircraft. There was absolutely no need to recall this. To use the language of chess, something akin to fool's mate arose in this regard. Let us recall what occurred with that South Korean aircraft, stating at once: We feel great grief and pain that on that occasion the

U.S. and South Korean special services for political and intelligence goals sent equally blameless people to their certain death and slaughter. The two occurrences are in no way similar. The Iranian aircraft had possibly, but this has not been confirmed, strayed slightly off course. Along with its passengers, it was immediately destroyed. The South Korean aircraft that had been hired by intelligence services did not simply deliberately intrude into the USSR's air space but passed over totally restricted areas, flying over them for several hours without responding to any signals. Moreover, this was in darkness and at night, whereas the Iranian aircraft with all of its identification signs was clearly visible. The incident occurred during the day.

In connection with this mass murder, the U.S. authorities have expressed their regret. That does not cost much. It would have been far more honest and useful for avoiding such incidents in the future to admit that an act of international terrorism had been committed. Let us hope that there are no further such acts, but to this end, the armada of U.S. warships situated in the Persian Gulf, as though on one of its own inland lakes, would do best to leave the area as quickly as possible. Its presence not only impinges all the norms of international law but is also extremely dangerous. Speaking of this incident involving the Iranian aircraft, the U.S. President has said that the matter is closed. This is not my view.

Pentagon Admits Iranian Airbus on Course
LD0807125788 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT
8 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 8 TASS—A Pentagon spokesman admitted Thursday that the Iranian passenger plane brought down over the Persian Gulf by a missile launched off the U.S. Vincennes cruiser was flying within the boundaries of a corridor intended for commercial air lines. Earlier Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, asserted just the opposite.

Closed sessions are going on at the Capitol Hill. They hear Pentagon spokesmen and analyze documents connected with the accident in the Persian Gulf. Representative Patricia Schroeder said that the deeper the investigation was going—the more gaps in the Pentagon's explanations they found. Many senators believe that the main reason underlying the accident is the wrong policy pursued by the administration, the ABC television company reports. Robert Byrd, Democratic majority leader of the Senate, stated that, in his opinion, the administration should revise its policy in the region, because the U.S. cannot afford another shock like that.

U.S.-Israeli Talks, Cooperation Viewed
TA3006050788 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Hebrew. 1630 GMT; 29 Jun 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin has ended his talks in Washington with Vice President Bush, Secretary of State Shultz, and U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci.

The talks focused on the expansion of Israel's military procurement from the United States and on the Palestinian issue. Minister Rabin reported on a new joint security plan now under discussion, a plan for the development of a defense system of surface-to-surface missiles. The minister emphasized that the U.S. Administration had expressed its willingness to take part in executing this plan.

Referring to Israel's policy in the territories, Rabin argued that the IDF [Israel Defense Force] uses force in the territories only to ensure peace and security for the Israeli people. Replying to questions by reporters in Washington, Rabin said that political solutions involving negotiations must be sought for the situation, but he did not say with whom Israel is prepared to negotiate.

For his part, Secretary Carlucci said that one of the main issues in his talks with Rabin had been the strengthening of the strategic alliance between the two countries. Carlucci stressed that the United States is currently carrying out a comprehensive plan for security aid to Israel to the tune of \$2.3 billion. The defense secretary described what is happening in the occupied territories as riots. Israel knows very well that the administration does not support the policy of beatings and deportations, he said, but we recognize that Israel is responsible for daily security in the West Bank.

Hence, it turns out that the strategic allies share an almost identical approach concerning the issues on the agenda, and have a real entente cordiale [preceding two words in French]. The question is, how do the Israeli people benefit from it, and are the special relations with the United States compatible with the real interests of the Israeli people?

It seems to us that Israelis would be well advised not to get worked up over the strengthening of the strategic alliance. There is no arguing that U.S. aid to Israel is very large, but the question is, what is the objective of this aid? Any Israeli knows that the funds coming from the other side of the ocean—grants and high-interest loans—are for the most part spent on the acquisition of U.S. weapons. In other words, the funds do not reach Israel's treasury, but are immediately passed on to the U.S. arms tycoons. Israel's unbridled militarization encourages the right-wing establishment and its annexationist policy, and this is a serious obstacle on the way to stable peace in the region. [Word indistinct] in Israel know very well what strategic cooperation with the United States entails. THE JERUSALEM POST writes in this context that the military aid Israel receives from the Americans is not charity. Israel pays with the blood of its soldiers and by conducting a policy which promotes U.S. objectives in the Middle East. As a result of this policy, Israel has not lived even one day since its establishment under conditions of peace and real security. As Me'ir Wilner,

secretary general of the Israeli Communist Party, puts it: The Zionism which promised Jews a safe haven in Eretz Yisra'el has turned the Jewish state into a very unsafe place.

Israel and its people are in dire need of stable peace. Such a peace is possible only if based on just foundations in the framework of representative negotiations. The strategic allies take an unconstructive position, however, on this point, too. Vice President Bush stated in his meeting with Rabin that the administration considers the international conference merely an opening to direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan. He also noted that he objects to assigning a prominent role to the Soviet Union in the peace process. Of course, Bush said his positions stem from his concern for Israel's security. Such a position, however, can only result in a curbing of the peace process and an increase in the Jewish state's dependence on its strategic ally. After all, it is a known fact that the Arabs have unanimously rejected the umbrella conference, while the Jordanians have announced that they will not agree to holding separate negotiations with Israel.

As for the attempts to drive the Soviet Union out of the political process in the region, that is simply unrealistic. The Soviet Union is a permanent member of the Security Council and plays an important role in the search for a political settlement in the Middle East. Our country will not give up this role, and is prepared to do everything to budge the peace process between Israel and the Arabs out of its stalemate.

U.S. To Sell Missiles to Greece, Egypt
LD0707102188 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 7 TASS—The Reagan administration has officially notified the Congress of the intention to supply Greece with 500 anti-aircraft missile complexes "Stinger" and 1,000 missiles to them to a total sum of 124 million dollars. A Pentagon spokesman announced this on Wednesday. The deal will automatically go into effect, unless the Congress protests against it within 30 days.

The Defence Department spokesman also said that the Reagan administration had notified the Congress of its intention to sell to Egypt 22 Maverick missiles of the "air-to-ground" class equipped with infrared homing system. The deal is worth 27 million dollars. According to the ASSOCIATED PRESS, the Pentagon statement says that the deliveries of Maverick missiles to Egypt suit the interests of the United States national security.

Tajik Minister Criticizes VOA 'Lies'
LD0707200588 Dushanbe Domestic Service
in Tadzhiik 1600 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] On the fronts of ideological struggle: VOA, the U.S. Administration's radio station, has once again been spreading lies.

This radio station, which has become used to meddling in everything, this time too has tried to sow the seed of discord in national relations between the two fraternal Soviet Republics of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. It is not possible to call a recently broadcast program by this radio station, prepared from materials during a visit to Central Asia by VOA correspondent (?Medel), anything else.

The radio journalists also visited our republic, said Tabarov, the Tajik SSR culture minister, who met them. The guests showed [word indistinct] interest in the cultural life of the Tajik people. I spoke to them and gave them full and objective information. Our discussion was frank and continued in a spirit of openness. Serious issues were also touched on. The U.S. journalists responded very well to hospitality and frankness. Their discussion with the minister was reflected in the following manner on a program by the VOA, which now broadcasts in several languages spoken by the Soviet people.

Nur Tabarov says that they will rectify injustices which have taken place in the [word indistinct] national policy in Uzbek SSR in the time of Sharaf Rashidov. The fourth part of the radio program, which is on the problems of national relations between Tajiks and Uzbeks, suddenly begins with such an introduction. It is as if the Tajik minister has assumed responsibility for restoring (?order) in a sovereign neighboring republic.

This is an obvious effort to derail the (?joint practice) of solving problems left over from the past in the relations between the two fraternal peoples, says Nur Tabarov. I think it (?was not) without reason that this program was (?broadcast) when a large party and [word indistinct] delegation from the Uzbek SSR was visiting Tajikistan. I do not want to talk about journalistic ethics. They have attributed words to me which I did not say [words indistinct]. VOA would not have done its duty had it not related the problem of [word indistinct] in this important subject and had not reflected it in a biased manner.

I remember that the U.S. journalists asked for us to meet and promised that the materials of the meeting would help to consolidate trust between the Soviet and American peoples. I, as a former journalist, expressed the hope that our talk would be reflected objectively; otherwise, I would also respond, which is now the case. It has become known that the U.S. libelers understand the Soviet openness to their own limits and use them for their own (?minister) aims, said Nur Tabarov in conclusion.

U.S. Navy Plans 'Show of Strength' at Olympics
PM0707114588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Gennadiy Vasilyev "Rejoinder": "Second Nature"]

[Text] What is needed to hold the Olympics successfully? Sportsmen prepared to produce good results. Well-prepared stadiums and sports facilities. Finally, measures to

maintain order in order to guarantee peace in the stands. That is probably what anyone would say. But...it is not the way the Pentagon thinks. The U.S. military department believes that the success of the Olympics needs not so much sportsmen as marines (U.S. Marines, of course), not stadiums but aircraft carriers, not order in the stands but shows of U.S. military might.

News agencies report that by the start of the Seoul Olympics, the United States plans to concentrate two carrier groups in the seas off the Korean Peninsula. A U.S. Navy carrier group has already held unannounced exercises in the Sea of Japan. U.S. forces in South Korea itself are being built up. The latest nuclear-capable F-18A fighter-bombers transferred there from the carrier "Midway" are already conducting exercises in the Seoul region. All this is being done on the pretext of "combating possible acts of terrorism."

That is a well-known argument.

Olympic competitors are preparing for the games and honing their sporting skills. The Pentagon is also "flexing its muscles." The flawed mentality which the United States cannot eschew is being seen yet again. Whatever happens and wherever it happens—the first reaction is to transfer U.S. troops to the region, which may often be located thousands of miles from the United States, to engage in a "show of strength," and to scare the peoples. All this sits uneasily with the demands of the time and the glimmerings of good sense which have begun to be seen recently in certain aspects of Washington's foreign policy. The long-standing addiction to "strong-arm methods" in international policy has its effect. As the saying goes, habit is second nature. h1

U.S. Air Force Secretary Departs Moscow Early
PM0807100588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 8 Jul 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Left for Home"]

[Text] E. Aldridge, U.S. Secretary of the Air Force, was received on 4 July by Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense. Questions of mutual interest were examined during the talks. Participating in the meeting were Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; and Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister.

On the same day, E. Aldridge laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior by the Kremlin Wall.

The U.S. Air Force secretary had meetings with representatives of "Glavkosmos" and visited the USSR Academy of Sciences Space Research Institute.

On 5 July E. Aldridge interrupted his visit and left for home because of family circumstances. He was seen off at Sheremetyevo Airport by Marshal of Aviation A.N.

Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister, and by other officials. The send-off party included J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR.

The U.S. Air Force delegation, which, following the secretary's departure, is headed by Lieutenant General D. Cromer, is continuing the visit in accordance with the program.

China

New Aeronautics, Space Ministry Established
LD0607165788 Moscow TASS in English 1303 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Beijing July 6 TASS—The establishment of PRC Ministry of Aviation and Space Industry [as received] has been announced here. In accordance with the plan of work until the year of 1995 the efforts of the ministry will be centred on designing military and civilian planes, a new generation of strategic and tactical missiles, preparations for and the launching of satellites, Minister Lin Zongtang said.

Addressing the official ceremony of the setting up of the new ministry in Beijing, he stressed that the implementation of these plans is one of the directions in strengthening China's positions in the world market of the products of the space industry and strengthening of the PRC's national defence. In the first half of the current year, the minister continued, successful experiments were carried out within the framework of the effort to create three new types of missiles, the development of the new fighter aircraft Jian-8-2 has been completed.

The first step in the implementation of the ministry's plan of work, the CHINA DAILY said today, should be the placing in the geostationary orbit of a Chinese meteorological satellite by means of the launch vehicle "Great March-4". Three-stage rocket created in Shanghai is capable of putting a payload of up to 2.5 tons into an orbit. China has already signed contracts with a number of foreign firms on the launching of their satellites in Chinese-made launch vehicles. Several other foreign companies, including those from the USA, Australia, the FRG, Switzerland and France, have requested the use of Chinese satellites for installing their equipment on a lease basis. Chinese-made launch vehicles and satellites, the newspaper quotes the statement by the spokesman for the ministry as saying, are sufficiently competitive, since their price is on an average 15 per cent lower as compared with foreign analogues.

Radio, TV Cooperation Protocol Signed
OW0807020188 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] The Soviet State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the Chinese Ministry of Radio, Film and Television signed a cooperation protocol in Moscow on 27 June. (Ersybov), a reporter for this station, reports:

Allow me to remind you that Comrade Popov, deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, visited China last year. This visit by a Chinese delegation of television and radio broadcast workers, headed by Comrade Nie Dajiang, vice minister of the Chinese Ministry of Radio, Film and Television, is to reciprocate for that visit. The distinguished Chinese guests have returned to Moscow after visiting several Soviet cities, and they have had an audience with Aksenov, chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting.

Comrade Aksenov said: We are very pleased with the Chinese delegation's visit to our country, and we are happy to hear about the development of our two countries' friendly relations and good, realistic [shi shi qiu shi di] cooperation. We are pleased that Soviet television stations are able to regularly transmit reports sent from China. It is time to broaden our cooperation. Our programs should have more reports about our two countries and the lives of their peoples. The journalists of our two countries are able to do this now. We believe that your delegation's visit is significant for both sides.

Comrade Nie Dajiang thanked his Soviet counterpart for giving his delegation the opportunity to visit various places in the USSR:

[Begin Nie Dajiang recording] We think our visit, and our work especially, of course, has been quite fruitful, because we are not here for sightseeing. [laughter] We have exchanged views with our Soviet counterparts in several places on the administration of television and radio broadcasts. We have also familiarized ourselves with what our Soviet counterparts have accomplished in perestroika. We are very impressed with the earnestness with which our Soviet counterparts have worked for perestroika. It is interesting to note that we are doing many similar things in considering and handling certain specific administration issues. Of course, we are very thankful for the arrangements our Soviet counterparts made so that we could see Soviet society and its achievements in economic and cultural construction. We are equally impressed with these achievements. We really feel that the USSR is a vast country, with people of many nationalities and colorful cultures. [end recording]

Comrade Nie Dajiang then expressed hope that contacts between China and the USSR in radio and television broadcasting can be strengthened. He said this would be good for both countries.

Present at the signing ceremony were Comrade Yu Hongliang, Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union; the deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; and members of the Chinese delegation. What does the protocol provide? It provides, primarily, for the two countries to exchange radio and television programs and writing groups, and to send radio and television workers to receive language

training in each other's country. All this shows that a new step has been made in consolidating the mutual understanding between the USSR and China.

Northeast Asia

Further on Kim Il-song's Khabarovsk Stopover
PM0707110188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting in Khabarovsk"]

[Text] Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee and DPRK president, stopped over in Khabarovsk 4-5 July en route home from Mongolia. There he met with V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The DPRK leader was briefed on the results of the work of the 19th all-union party conference, which opened a new stage in the process of the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society, in the further improvement of its political structure, and in the development of democracy and glasnost.

Kim Il-song stressed that the forum of Soviet Communists had attracted the attention of the entire world public. Its success was possible thanks to M.S. Gorbachev's great efforts. The WPK Central Committee congratulates the CPSU Central Committee on the successful conclusion of the conference.

During the talk a number of questions of bilateral cooperation were examined on the basis of the accords reached during the Soviet-Korean summit, which gave a new boost to the further deepening and development of USSR-DPRK political and economic relations. The sides stressed their interest in expanding cooperation, reaching new, more progressive, and effective forms of economic collaboration—including the creation of joint enterprises—and establishing direct production ties between corresponding organizations in the two countries. In particular, prospects for the development of production sharing in the sphere of machine building, agriculture, forestry, and construction were examined.

Taking part in the meeting, which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, were: on the Soviet side, A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.K. Chernyy, first secretary of Khabarovsk CPSU Kraykom; V.I. Potapov, first secretary of Irkutsk CPSU Obkom; V.F. Lutsenko, chairman of Maritime Krayispolkom; and G.G. Bartoshevich, USSR ambassador to the DPRK. The Korean side was represented by Yi Chong-ok, member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo and DPRK vice president; Kim Yong-nam, member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo, vice premier of the Administration Council, and DPRK foreign minister; and Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the USSR.

Kim Il-song and the officials accompanying him left Khabarovsk for home 5 July.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

PRC Should Respond to SRV Moves on PRK
 PM0707153788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
 6 Jul 88 First Edition p 5

[Petr Tsvetkov "Viewpoint": "Moves Toward Settlement"]

[Text] The teletype has brought news of another gratifying event in international life. The latest withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia has begun precisely on schedule. This withdrawal, the seventh since 1982, is a special one. In the first place, it is the biggest. In 6 months' time, before the end of this year, the Vietnamese military contingent presently stationed in the country to protect the Cambodians against the threat of the restoration of the Pol Pot genocide regime, will be reduced by 50,000 men; that is, it will be halved. Second, the situation of the Vietnamese military servicemen remaining in Cambodia is changing considerably. They are being placed under the command of the PRK Defense Ministry, which is why the Vietnamese military command returned home at the end of June. It has also been decided that the Vietnamese volunteers will be moved at least 30 km from the Cambodian-Thai border.

Such an event can only meet with the approval of everyone who is sincerely interested in eliminating the regional conflict. It is evidence of the constructive position of the SRV and the PRK and confirmation of their determination to honor their commitment to withdraw the Vietnamese volunteers in full from Cambodia no later than 1990.

The reduction in the number of Vietnamese military servicemen, incidentally, as of the advisers in Cambodia's civilian departments, is the direct result of the strengthening of the PRK Government's positions on the domestic political and economic plane and in the military sphere. Addressing a news conference in Phnom Penh, Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, stressed that the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Army is capable of independently resolving the tasks facing it. "The situation in Cambodia at present is favorable," he noted.

Foreign observers also link the current moves in the Cambodian settlement with the easing of the international situation as a whole, particularly in view of the changes in East-West relations.

The new action by the SRV and the PRK will have far-reaching consequences. It will undoubtedly strengthen trust and reduce tension in relations among the states of Southeast Asia. The withdrawal of a considerable part of the Vietnamese volunteers will create good conditions for the further advancement of the process of

a political settlement of the Cambodian problem. The "informal meeting" of the four Cambodian sides in Indonesia planned for the end of July may be the next stage in a settlement.

It is characteristic that in recent months the search for ways to resolve the Cambodian problem has been stepped up in the world. The other day R. Ahmed, special representative of the UN secretary general, went to Bangkok where he had talks with the leaders of the three groupings opposed to the PRK Government—Sihanouk, Khieu Samphan, and Son Sann—and visited Hanoi, Phnom Penh, and Vientiane. The possibility of organizing a meeting of the sides involved in the Cambodian conflict under the auspices of leaders of the Nonaligned Movement is being studied. It would be good if other countries really became involved in this process. For example, if a more constructive role were to be played by the PRC, which has a definite influence on a number of Khmer opposition figures. At one time, in March 1983, the PRC Foreign Ministry declared the Chinese side's readiness to begin talks with Hanoi on the question of normalizing relations between the two countries if the Vietnamese Government was prepared to announce a complete withdrawal and withdrew the first batch. The withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from the PRK is now at its peak. Its scheduled completion date is known. It seems to me that the conditions are right for the beginning of a Vietnamese-Chinese dialogue which Vietnam, according to statements by its leaders, is ready to begin at any time and in any place. It is clear that the normalization of Vietnamese-Chinese relations would play a positive role in the Cambodian settlement. This would be a big step toward general peace.

Cambodia Releases U.S. National to Red Cross
 LD0607164088 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT
 6 Jul 88

[Text] Phnom Penh July 6 TASS—The secretary general of Kampuchea's Red Cross Association today turned over a U.S. national to a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Sterling Brian Bono had been detained in Kampuchean territory after an illegal crossing of the Kampuchean border.

The International Red Cross representative expressed gratitude to the Kampuchean Government for its humane decision.

Kamentsev Holds News Conference in Australia
 LD0607164288 Moscow TASS in English 1043 GMT
 6 Jul 88

[Text] Canberra July 6 TASS—Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is paying an official visit to Australia, today handed over a present

of the USSR Supreme Soviet to Australia's supreme legislative authority on the occasion of that country's 200th anniversary at a ceremony in the new building of Parliament. The Palekh casket featuring the Moscow Kremlin was received with gratitude by Joan Child, speaker of the House of Representatives of the Australian Parliament.

Kamenshev today gave a press conference. He spoke about the processes of perestroika (restructuring) taking place in the Soviet Union, the 19th all-union party conference, the new thinking in Soviet foreign policy, and touched on the objectives of the visit and the first results of the talks with Australian leaders and businessmen. He also answered numerous questions by Australian and foreign journalists.

Kamenshev and the Soviet Government delegation left Canberra for Sydney today.

Near East & South Asia

Rebel Forces Shell Kabul; 'Extremists' Routed
LD0707130488 Moscow TASS in English 1144 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 7 TASS—Following the morning blast of a car rigged with explosives, which caused human casualties, the Afghan extremists committed a fresh crime on Wednesday against the residents of Kabul. They shelled the city killing another seven people, including children and women, and wounded 19 others. Twelve rockets that hit different districts of Kabul also damaged a number of residential and office buildings, including a mosque.

Rockets were also fired at the administrative centre Haskunar [name as received] in Konarha Province, killing two people and inflicting material damage.

Commenting on these events, news agency BAKHTAR writes that after the conclusion of the Geneva agreements the intractable antigovernment groups have stepped up terrorist activities against civilians. In the past two months 200 people were killed or wounded in the explosions of car bombs or rockets. Incidentally, the latest crimes by extremists were timed to coincide with the arrival in the capital of Diego Cordovez, special representative of the [UN] secretary-general on situation relating to Afghanistan. The intractable opposition makes it clear that it not only refuses to promote the restoration of peace in Afghanistan but also strives to expand subversive activities.

Reports came from a number of Afghan provinces about successful combat operations by the republic's Armed Forces against antigovernment groups. In particular, another three extremists detachments were routed in Zabol Province. A large amount of arms, including 8 rocket launchers, more than 250 units of firearms, and 9

trucks and 5 prime movers used to deliver arms from Pakistan, were captured and destroyed. Several extremists groups were destroyed in provinces Lowgar, Nangarhar and Qandahar.

Rebel 'Terror' Condemned
LD0707153788 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

Blood was spilt in the streets of the Afghan capital again. A dynamite truck blew up at one of the markets. On the same day 12 "ground-to-ground" missiles destroyed several houses and stores in the residential quarters of the city. Two mosques were damaged. Peaceful people, among them women, children, the aged, fell victim to these crimes.

It is known who are responsible for this bloodshed. They are fanatics from units of the armed opposition whose actions are masterminded by leaders of the "Alliance of the Seven" who got entrenched in Pakistan. To what end is the blood of peaceful people spilt? The Geneva accords have opened a real road to a prompt end to a fratricidal bloodshed. And the Afghan Government, strictly adhering to the spirit and the letter of the Geneva accords is doing everything possible to achieve a political settlement: The road has been opened to talks, to the participation in a new coalition government of all the opposition forces, even those who are still waging an armed struggle against the lawful authorities.

But the Afghan opposition does not wish to take a peaceful road. Kabul's proposal to share the authority and the responsibility does not suit it. The leaders of the "Peshawar Seven" among whom the bickering and strife are heightening seek power for themselves and press for the deposition of the present government.

On Kabul's decision Afghan military units have been redeployed from a vast area adjoining the borders of Pakistan and Iran so as not to interfere with the return of refugees home. The Afghan opposition tried to take advantage of this action to seize the vacated territory. Reports have been instigated by the opposition about the capture of several strategically important points by the opposition. These reports were immediately picked up by the foreign mass media—the Voice of America, the B.B.C. and others. These reports, however, proved to be a bluff. The city of Paghman and Mahammad Agha populated locality whose fall was noisily announced by certain mass media are reliably controlled by the Afghan army. The Armed Forces of the republic rebuff the attempts to alter the situation.

The opposition's plans for prompt seizure of major cities in Afghanistan have failed. This, perhaps, explains the fact that from actions in the battlefield they pass on, on a still wider scale, to acts of sabotage and terror against

the population. The cynical calculation is simple: It is much easier to shell defenseless population with rockets, to explode dynamite trucks at bazaars than to fight the Afghan Army. Building up terror against the peaceful population, they strive to spread fear and a sense of lack of protection. But these pointless crimes cause indignation not only of Afghans, but also of people of good will all over the world.

Afghan Forces Control Provincial Centers

*LD0707085588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0000 GMT 7 Jul 88*

[Text] Broadcasts by the Voice of America, the BBC, and other radio mouthpieces and enemies of Afghanistan have recently been full of reports alleging that a group of the irreconcilable opposition in the regional centers has crossed (?into) the provincial capitals and important strategic populated points. The USIA has circulated a report on the fall of (?Paghman), 20 km from Kabul.

A TASS correspondent visited the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan, where competent military leaders gave him the following explanations: After concluding the Geneva agreements, the leadership of the PDPA and the Afghan Government took the decision to transfer certain military units from an extensive area adjacent to the Pakistan border and the border with Iran. This action was directed toward facilitating the return home of the Pakistan refugees ... [newsreader corrects himself] of refugees from Pakistan. The Western media are trying to give the world public the impression that these demilitarized zones are being filled by the armed formations of the opposition. Such attempts are indeed being made, but the Afghan garrisons and security posts are dealing a worthy rebuff to the irreconcilables. As for (?Paghman), government forces retain full control over this minor province, it was emphasized at the General Staff.

Afghan Opposition Preventing Refugees' Return

*LD0307230988 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT
3 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 3 TASS—The Pakistani leadership and the Peshawar "Alliance of the Seven" have pooled their efforts with a view to blocking the return of Afghan refugees home from Pakistan. They are given assistance by the missions of Saudi Arabia, Austria, Denmark, Norway and Sweden operating in Pakistan under the guise of charity institutions. People who turn to those organizations for help are subjected to regular interrogations. Their plans of return home and the number of those wishing to return are specified. They become the target of active anti-Afghan propaganda. No assistance is rendered to those who express firm intention to return to Afghanistan.

According to reports reaching here, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, leader of the "irreconcilable" part of the opposition, tried to convince refugees from the Naserbah refugee

camp on June 22 that the situation in Afghanistan is complicated, that young people are called up for military service, families are left homeless. He was assisted by two American advisers. The refugees were told that foreign countries would render them all the assistance they needed and were promised that their living conditions in Pakistani camps would be improved.

Despite the persuasion, several days ago 70 Afghan refugee families tried to return from Pakistan to Konarha Province. However, they were detained in the area of Bojambol, on Pakistani territory, by units of the Pakistani Tribal Militia and members of Hikmatyar's Islamic Party of Afghanistan and forcibly driven to the camps of Turkami and Karhoikami.

The Pakistani authorities and leaders of the "Alliance of the Seven" are toughening control over the Afghan refugees' life in the camps. Seeking to replenish armed units of the "Alliance", they call up practically all the male population of the refugee camps, leaving only one adult man in each family.

A commission for selecting people from among Afghan religious fanatics for manning notorious "death squads" was set up recently in Peshawar with the assistance of Pakistani authorities. Their distinctive feature will be white uniforms, and they will take part in the most responsible combat operations against government troops. The first such group was smuggled on June 24 from Chaman, Pakistan, to Qandahar Province of Afghanistan. General Zahir Ali, commander of the Pakistani armed forces in Baluchistan Province, took part in the smuggling operation.

This open support by Pakistan of the "Alliance of the Seven" permitted Hikmatyar to announce on June 26 at a conference in Peshawar that Islamabad was not going to step up the process of the return home of Afghan refugees. He pointed out that "the friendly Islamic forces" of Pakistan pursued a policy of solidarity with "mujahids" and would not allow to fully curtail the activities of the Afghan opposition forces in that country, that they would help the insurgents in every way in creating a "truly Islamic state" on the territory of Afghanistan.

Shishlin Reports on Troop Withdrawal, Violations

*LD0407023488 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1400 GMT 3 Jul 88*

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Excerpt] Regional conflicts unfortunately do not take any break at all, nor even anything resembling a break. Let us first talk about Afghanistan. The withdrawal of Soviet troops is going on schedule. Starting on 15 May and over the next month and a half, our troops have been withdrawn from five more Afghan provinces and, if

everything goes according to plan, by the middle of August our troops will leave a further 3 Afghan provinces and our troops will remain in only 8 or 9 Afghan provinces out of 30.

The actual situation in Afghanistan looks tense enough. The armed opposition is trying to overturn both the Geneva agreements and the policy of national reconciliation. It is making a great deal of fuss. It is hindering the return of refugees. It is of course receiving support from Pakistan, and violations of the Geneva agreements by both Islamabad and those who support Islamabad are multiplying. I think that if we paid attention only to the complexity of the situation in Afghanistan—and we must do that—then we would be one-sided. Nonetheless, in essence, in these dramatic and uneasy days the Republic of Afghanistan is demonstrating both the strength of the Kabul regime and that the revolution can defend itself, knows how to defend itself, and is learning to defend itself. [passage omitted]

Pakistan Continues Assistance to Afghan Rebels

Afghanistan Protests to UN
LD0107210288 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 1 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 1 TASS—The National Council of Afghanistan sent a letter to the United Nations Secretary General, demanding that Pakistan and its patrons strictly abide by the Geneva accords and utilise responsibly the opportunity to safeguard peace and security in the region.

The continued withdrawal of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in accordance with the schedule stipulated in the accords, the assurance of conditions for the return of the refugees, the efforts to set up a coalition government and the assistance being given to the U.N. good offices mission for Afghanistan and Pakistan, the letter says, attest to the sincerity and to the all-round efforts being made by the Afghan Government in implementing the Geneva accords

In the meantime, Pakistan is ignoring its commitments, the letter goes on to say. It has actually stepped up shipments of different types of arms to the extremists and is inciting them to fight the government. Official Pakistani press has launched a propaganda campaign against Afghanistan and the peace process. The Government of Pakistan regards the Geneva accords as something that concerns only Afghanistan, while the accords spell out specific commitments for both sides, and non-interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs is a pivotal principle of those accords. The Pakistani stand is undermining the efforts to ensure a lasting peace and jeopardises peaceful solutions to regional problems, says the letter of the National Council of Afghanistan.

The text of the letter was distributed as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Dreams of 'Confederation'
LD0307105088 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 3 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 3 TASS—Statement by Pakistani President Ziaul Haq at the international conference on the problems of stability and security in the South Asian region, held in Islamabad, is fully at variance with the agreements reached in Geneva, the Afghan Foreign Ministry said in its 38th note handed over to the representatives of the U.N. mission. The note stresses that the Pakistani head violated the bilateral agreement on the principles of mutual relations of the two countries by making open anti-Afghan attacks. The Afghan Government expressed the hope that the note, which deals with the illegal actions of Islamabad, will be brought to the notice of special representative of the U.N. Secretary General Diego Cordovez, who is currently in Pakistan.

Ziaul Haq reaffirmed that interference in the affairs of Afghanistan was continuing, a spokesman for the Afghan Foreign Ministry told BAKHTAR news agency. The Pakistani leader, disregarding even the stay in the country of Diego Cordovez, spoke with hope about the forthcoming overthrow by mujahidins of the Kabul Government and even his personal arrival in Kabul and prayer at Kabul's mosque. Ziaul Haq's words clearly echo the words of Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, who dreams of depriving the Afghan people of national independence through confederation of the two countries. On the other hand, the Pakistani leader reflected the intentions of the rebels to capture whole provinces in Afghanistan. However, they not only failed to do this, but even received resounding defeats in Zabul, Spind Buldak, in the area of Qam. The Afghan spokesman stressed that the Armed Forces of the republic were prepared to continue to rebuff in a worthy manner any military actions by the extremist opposition trying to capture this or that settlement.

On the whole, the Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman said, Ziaul Haq's statement cannot be viewed other than a premeditated blow at the Geneva accords. The irresponsible approach by the leader of state to the international document, signed by his country, does damage to his personal prestige and the situation in the region.

Materials, Routes Detailed
LD0407105188 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 3 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 3 TASS—In violation of the Geneva accords, the Ziaul Haq regime continues to render active assistance to the so-called "Alliance of the Seven" in smuggling to Afghan territory new detachments of the "irreconcilable" opposition, armaments and ammunition. According to reports reaching here, the headquarters of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" has been

actively using of late for this purpose the route connecting Parachinar of Pakistan, Dubandai of the Chak District in Kabul Province and the Panjsher District of Parwan Province. Pakistani advisers take part in the formation of caravans. A unit of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" with a strength of about 350 came from the Narai district of Pakistan (the area of Asadabad, Konar province). It is planned to create on its basis a "regiment" with a strength of about 1,000. Arms and ammunition are brought every day to the area of its deployment. The penetration of Konduz by "mujahids" is taking place. A caravan came to the Kuran-o Munjan District, 145 km north-east of the city of Ruh. It brought some 400 fire arms pieces and ammunition. 190 pack animals brought arms and ammunition to the Alishang district, Laghman province, for a 1,000-strong armed group of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan". In the past several days consignments of armaments, including heavy armaments and missiles, were brought from the Kurram agency of Pakistan to detachments of the irreconcilable opposition in the provinces of Kapisa, Kabul, Oruzgan, Loghar and the Khost region. A big underground depot was built in the area of Zirzubchak. 15 million Afghanis was allocated for its construction.

A conference of heads of a number of groups of the "Islamic Movement of Afghanistan" was held in the Narh area, Vardak province. They discussed ways of stepping up subversive and terrorist actions in the area of Kabul.

Speaking at a meeting with heads of his groups in Peshawar on June 26, Hikmatyar urged them to get prepared most seriously for the beginning of "massive combat operations" on the territory of Konarha Province with a view to capturing within a month of the city of Asadabad. It is not the first warning of this kind made by the leader of the "irreconcilable".

Four American correspondents have been working in two districts of Helmand Province since June 22. They try to collect materials justifying criminal actions of the insurgents.

"Terror caravans" were sent from Pakistan to the provinces of Laghman, Jonar, Kapisa, Balkh and Paktia from June 10 through 30. They carried armaments of various calibre, jet projectiles, ammunition for recoilless rifles, mortars and fire arms.

The training of insurgents for combat operations in Afghanistan is going on at training centres and bases located in Pakistan with the connivance of the authorities of that country. A large group of fighters joined one of the "regiments" of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan". These include volunteers from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Career officers of the Armed Forces of Pakistan take an active part in the training process.

Arms continue to be smuggled from Peshawar to transshipment bases of the armed opposition situated in Teri Mangal, Miram Shah and Sedar. About 10 trucks with arms and ammunition are sent there daily. The Pakistani authorities are building an airfield near the populated locality of Teri Mangal. It will be used mostly for the transportation of cargoes by air to the Afghan-Pakistani border for insurgent groups. Along with the construction of the runway a road is being built to Teri Mangal.

Pakistan Deceives UN

*LD0407162988 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 4 Jul 88*

[Text] Radio Moscow news analyst Yuriy Solton comments on the efforts of Pakistan to mislead the UN mission. He writes:

The Kabul Government has handed to UN representatives some 40 notes on Pakistan's crude violations of the Geneva agreements banning outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The notes mention concrete facts. They say that big consignments of arms, and also armed groups of the opposition, are being sent into Afghanistan from Pakistan's territory. They also point to the obstacles set up by the Pakistani authorities on the way of the Afghan refugees wishing to return home.

The violation of the Geneva agreements is so obvious that even the Pakistani public, suppressed by the military dictatorship, voices its condemnation. The United Nations is also very much concerned about all this. And Islamabad cannot but take this into consideration, but it doesn't seem to have any intention of renouncing the export of war. Its efforts are directed at covering up its unlawful actions and misleading the UN good will mission. For instance, the public has learned about a message sent by the leaders of the opposition Islamic Party of Afghanistan to one of its armed groups. The message said, for instance, that UN observers were expected to arrive at the regiment in ('Shedrali) on 21st and 22nd June, and recommended taking urgent measures to reliably conceal all arms and ammunition. Even shell packages shouldn't be found. Such a message has been clearly dictated by the Pakistani authorities.

There are also some other curious facts. For instance, before UN observers make inspection trips to the camps of the Afghan refugees, representatives of the counter-revolutionary organizations go there to pick and prepare people who would be speaking with the UN observers. As for weapons, they are transported from the Army storages by the Afghan opposition members, wearing Pakistan uniform.

But that all this camouflage is built on sands was displayed by the president of Pakistan, Ziaul Haq, himself. Even the presence in the country of the special representative of the UN secretary general, Diego Cordovez, didn't prevent him from expressing the hope that

the Kabul Government would be brought down. He even voiced the intention to go to Kabul and pray at the mosque in honor of the victory of the rebels.

Whatever prompted that crude anti-Afghan remark, it shows that Islamabad intends to go further along the road of undermining the Geneva agreements, which, incidentally, were signed by a Pakistani representative, and it intends to do that in disregard of the possible consequences.

More Violations Detailed

LD0607220788 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 6 TASS—Actions by Pakistani authorities reveal their obvious unwillingness to stop violating the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

Pakistan's minister for frontier affairs met in Lahore with leaders of several Afghan groups—Hezb-e Islami (Islamic Party), Jamiat-e Islami (Islamic Society), and the Islamic Union for the liberation of Afghanistan—and with Ahmad Shah, head of the so-called transitional government of the armed opposition.

On behalf of the Pakistani Administration, the minister assured them of Islamabad's invariable all-round support for the insurgents.

Pakistan's president held a meeting with Afghan armed opposition leaders, at which they were set the task of taking power within six days after Soviet troops left the country, establishing an "Islamic state" and introducing Shari'ah.

Afghan competent bodies know of an operating caravan route which is used by Pakistani authorities and opposition forces to bring arms, food and medicines to Afghanistan.

Two wooden bridges were built across a river in Nashagam, [name as received] Konar Province, for taking cargos delivered for insurgents from Peshawar, to the other bank.

There they are mounted on horses and taken to Bagram, Kabul Province, and other areas in Afghanistan.

Weapons for counter-revolutionaries are delivered in closed trucks of the Pakistani Army to prevent U.N. representatives from establishing facts of violations, since U.N. representatives have no right to check such trucks.

Late in June in Ouetta, the Pakistani Government turned over a fresh batch of weapons and ammunition, brought from the United States to Karachi, to Hezb-e Islami leaders.

The insurgents received 120-mm mortars, stinger missiles, surface-to-surface missiles, anti-tank guided missiles, and other weapons.

On June 26, the insurgents started delivering the armaments from Ouetta to their detachments in Qandahar Province.

An analysis of reports reaching here offers a conclusion that the Pakistani authorities have changed their tactics in violating the Geneva accords.

Representatives of Islamabad are buying land plots from the population in the north-west frontier province and store weapons and ammunition intended for extremist groups there.

Pakistani authorities deny U.N. representatives the right to carry out inspections to check these facts due to "customs and traditions" of Pashtuns living in the province.

They say searches among Pashtuns may spark off armed conflicts and jeopardise U.N. representatives' safety which cannot be ensured in this case.

On June 22, Pakistani authorities bought a land plot from a Haji Bangal [name as received] of the Shinwari tribe in Khyber Agency, on which a large consignment of weapons for counter-revolutionary organisations was stored.

Najibullah Addresses National Council Session LD0707214388 Moscow TASS in English 2123 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 7 TASS—A concluding meeting of the first session of the National Council was held in the Afghan capital today. It was addressed by President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan. He said, in particular, that as a result of the tireless creative work of the senators and deputies of Wolasi Jirgah, the building of a new political system of an independent, neutral and nonaligned Afghanistan had been started: The new government headed by Muhammad Hasan Sharq had received a vote of confidence, the leading bodies of parliament had been elected and many other key problems had been solved.

The president pointed out that at the session the members of parliament were united in the striving objectively to estimate the present-day situation and to work in the name of ensuring peace and ending war.

"Although the past of our country was complex and dramatic enough", Najibullah said; "one should not turn away from it but should attentively and responsively study it so that errors would not be repeated. We are advocates of a critical, impartial and scientific view of history".

"Deliberations during the session have shown that the present system of state power, the home and foreign policies of the republic are not free from deficiencies. However, we have gathered here not only to speak of the past", the president emphasized. "We should look ahead".

One can say with confidence now, the Afghan president emphasized, that the National Council has become the parliament of reconciliation and peace. The task of the senators and deputies following the conclusion of the session is to explain the developments in the country.

Touching upon issues concerning the military and political situation in Afghanistan, Najibullah stated that the Soviet troops' return home set a number of new complex tasks before the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan in the defence of populated and strategic areas.

"The Armed Forces are capable of accomplishing these tasks and keeping all provincial and a majority of district centres under the control of people's government. They foiled the extremists' plans aimed at seizing this or that town of the country. Vardak and Qalat are an example of that. We are fully in control of the situation in Jalalabad and Qandahar, with which the far-reaching designs of the leaders of the 'Alliance of Seven' concerning the formation of an 'interim government' were associated".

Unfortunately, the president pointed out, the stand of a number of leaders of the 'Alliance of Seven' is notable for absolute non-acceptance of our constructive proposals. A peaceful solution to the accumulated problems, a solution which is advantageous to everyone, is unacceptable to 'the Seven' because its leaders are distant from the needs of the Afghan people and pursue an obviously adventurist policy. The policy is in a continuation of the war, terror, acts of sabotage and subversive propaganda. It will inevitably lead them to political demise.

"Purposeful and consistent efforts of the people's government disrupt all far-fetched pretexts for a continuation of the bloodshed. However, the counter-revolutionaries still disgrace themselves with new bloody crimes against the Afghan people, against national unity", Najibullah emphasized.

Touching upon questions of compliance with the Geneva agreements, the speaker said that Afghanistan and the Soviet Union were true to their obligations. "The withdrawal of Soviet troops is being continued. Demilitarised zones are being established in areas which border on Pakistan, and proper measures are being taken to receive and accommodate refugees, and the principle of non-interference is being strictly observed".

It is clear, Najibullah said, that our people inseparably associate the implementation of the Geneva agreements with restoration of peace in the country. Afghanistan's

policy towards a peaceful political solution to all contentious issues is being supported by a majority of countries, including Islamic ones. Unfortunately, over the entire period that has passed since the documents on the Afghan settlement were signed, not a single sign indicating Islamabad's intention to fulfil its obligations has appeared. On the contrary, following the Geneva talks, Pakistan's interference in Afghan affairs has considerably increased.

In this connection, the president of the Republic of Afghanistan went on to say, it may be recalled that the Afghan Government has handed over 40 notes, giving facts of violations of the Geneva agreements by the Pakistani side, to the U.N. mission. At a time when the Pakistani, Afghan and other peoples hope for an end to the years-long conflict, the Islamabad regime seeks to fan it up still more, creating difficulties in the realisation of the Geneva accords. We expect that the United Nations organisation will use its entire prestige to secure the implementation of the accords, and will draw the attention of the guarantors—the Soviet Union and the United States—to the unseemly actions of the Government of Pakistan.

These days as never before, the speaker went on to say, the United States President should come to realize the danger being brought by escalation of tension in individual regions of the world.

Najibullah, on behalf of the parliament, Government and people of Afghanistan, expressed condolences to the families of the Iranians who had been on board the airliner shot down by a U.S. missile.

At that the first session of the National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan ended its work.

Afghanistan's Prime Minister Sharq Interviewed
PM0707155088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq by special correspondents V. Kononov and D. Meshchaninov in Kabul: "The Country Needs Peace"; date not given]

[Text] Kabul—[Correspondent] The program and composition of the ministerial cabinet you head were discussed at some length in the National Council, the country's parliament. How did the debates go? What wishes did the parliamentarians express to the future government?

[Sharq] In accordance with the Constitution of the Republic, the president appoints the prime minister, who submits for discussion by parliament the program and composition of the future cabinet. After receiving a vote of confidence, the government embarks on the execution of its duties. The debates, which lasted a week, were very stormy and instructive. Many criticisms and

concrete proposals aimed at rectifying the errors of the past were put forward. Chief among those errors was, in my view, that words and deeds often diverged.

I repeat, the debates, which were covered extensively by the Afghan mass media, were stormy and critical. The parliamentarians unanimously supported our program, which makes provision, first and foremost, for emerging from the impasse of fratricidal war through nationwide reconciliation. There simply is no other reasonable way. Peace—that is what Afghanistan needs today.

[Correspondent] The Geneva accords generated real hopes of establishing peace on Afghan soil. The Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are adhering strictly to their commitments, and that, unfortunately, cannot be said about Pakistan and the United States. What do you see as the reasons for their failure to fulfill the agreements signed in Geneva?

[Sharq] It is no secret that Islamabad received and continues to receive tremendous military-economic assistance from the West, first and foremost, the United States. The normalization of the situation in the region will deprive Pakistan of the status of "front-line state," and that means that the influx of hard currency and the most modern arms will stop or at least be considerably reduced. Pakistan's ruling clique would like to continue to benefit from the Afghan people's tragedy. That, in my view, is one of the main reasons for Islamabad's two-faced attitude to the Geneva accords.

By all appearances, this position is entirely to the liking of the American Administration. Verbally, it too calls for the peaceful resolution of the Afghan problem, but in practice, it continues to make generous weapons deliveries through Pakistan for armed opposition detachments operating on Afghan territory. Evidently Islamabad and Washington believe that the Geneva agreements amount solely to the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops. The path to peace on Afghan soil lies through strict compliance by all sides with the spirit and letter of the documents signed in Geneva.

[Correspondent] For more than 18 months prior to your appointment as prime minister, you were in charge of work connected with the refugee problem. What do you think about the prospects for resolving this complex problem after the signing in Geneva of the bilateral agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan on the voluntary return of refugees?

[Sharq] After the signing of that document, the influx of refugees returning home increased. However, not as much as was expected. Their homeward routes are still blocked by almost insuperable barriers erected by armed opposition formations. There are still threats, physical punishments, fines, blackmail, and disinformation. Only recently the leaders of the "irreconcilables," for instance, were intimidating the refugees by referring to the presence of Soviet troops on Afghan territory. Now they are

claiming that after the withdrawal of the limited contingent, the situation in the country will deteriorate considerably and their lives will be in even greater danger.

As for Pakistani ruling circles, they are still turning a blind eye to the forcible detention in the camps of refugees who dream of returning home. If all the barriers are removed, the Afghans will come home. The refugees themselves have told me this, and recently a similar opinion was expressed by representatives of the group of UN observers monitoring compliance with the Geneva agreements, who had been to several camps on Pakistani territory.

It is no easy matter to receive and find housing, work, and everything necessary for the millions of Afghans who found themselves abroad by a whim of fate. We are doing much work in preparing for the mass return of our compatriots. Incidentally, our efforts met with a positive response from Sadruddin Agha Khan, coordinator of the UN program for humanitarian and economic aid to Afghanistan, with whom I met during his stay in Kabul. With the help of the international community, the refugee problem will be resolved. But it is necessary to begin by complying strictly with the bilateral agreement, which was signed by official representatives of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

[Correspondent] A great deal is being said and written in the West about the "instability" of the present Kabul government and the possibility of its removal by forces of the Islamic opposition. How do you see the future of the Afghan state system?

[Sharq] As I have already emphasized, the main thrust of our domestic policy is national reconciliation. We invite anyone sincerely interested in the future of the homeland to hold a peaceful dialogue. Tens of thousands of people who only recently were fighting against the present state power have endorsed the policy of national reconciliation and are actively working for a happy future for Afghanistan, and many have been elected to the National Council.

All parliamentarians have received a mandate from their voters to spare no effort to attain peace and tranquillity on Afghan soil. Recently I had a meeting with delegates of the lower chamber of parliament representing the country's northern and western provinces. They are going back to their homes believing in their strength and in the nobility and realistic nature of the national reconciliation policy. During the meeting, there were no differences of opinion whatsoever between us.

The government's stability will depend on whether we are able to learn properly from past mistakes, whether we are able to secure the trust and respect of the entire Afghan people by concrete deeds. As for the "irreconcilable" section of the opposition, its potential should

not be underestimated, just as it should not be overestimated. If outside interference stops, the Afghans themselves will be able to tidy up their own backyard. At any rate, the future belongs not to those who are continuing their fanatical appeals for fratricidal bloodshed. The future belongs to a peaceful, sovereign, nonaligned Afghanistan.

[Correspondent] What are the main spheres of your government's foreign policy activity? How do you see the prospects for cooperation between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union?

[Sharq] We will continue to advocate the establishment of friendly ties with neighboring states, irrespective of their political system, on the basis of mutual respect and noninterference in one another's internal affairs. We are interested in effective cooperation with anyone who is sincerely seeking the speediest settlement of the situation around and within Afghanistan and the elimination of one of the most protracted and bloodiest conflicts in the very heart of Asia.

As for relations with the Soviet Union, there can be no doubt, in my view, that they are solid and productive. I have occupied very senior posts under different regimes, and there have always been sincere, good-neighborly relations between our countries. I have already said that many critical remarks were heard during the debate on a vote of confidence for the present government. But none of the speakers cast the slightest doubt on the traditional Afghan-Soviet friendship.

Afghanistan followed the work of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference very closely. The questions raised at the forum concern not only fundamental transformations in the life of Soviet society. The new political thinking has already spread beyond the Soviet Union and is already bearing fruit in the international arena. The achievement of the Geneva accords is further proof of this.

Soviet-Afghan economic cooperation, which dates back to the twenties, continues to develop successfully and is becoming durable and stable. Dozens of major facilities in various sectors of the economy and the social sphere have been constructed with Soviet assistance. Dozens of others will be commissioned in the next few years. The multifaceted cooperation between our countries will soon reach a new level, involving space this time.

[Correspondent] What significance does Afghanistan attach to the upcoming joint flight by Soviet and Afghan cosmonauts?

[Sharq] Afghanistan is looking forward eagerly to this historic event. The program of scientific experiments will make it possible to carry out research of tremendous importance to the country's economy in the spheres of

geology, irrigation, agriculture, forestry, energy, and cartography. And, of course, the joint space flight will be an important new chapter in relations between our countries and peoples.

Afghan Official on People's Militia Activities
LD0507224788 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1004 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul, 5 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy reports: "Following the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the country's Armed Forces, including the People's Militia, will be faced with the difficult but honorable task of defending the progressive transformations which began in the country after the April revolution of 1978," General Manokay Mangal, deputy minister of internal affairs, chief of the Political Directorate of the Afghan Ministry of Internal Affairs stated in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. "I believe we will be able to fulfill our task successfully."

Over the past 10 years the numerical strength of the People's Militia has grown noticeably in accordance with the scale of the obligations entrusted to them, the general said. There are now approximately 100,000 men in its ranks. But what is particularly important, in our opinion, is its growth in quality. Over 15 percent of the personnel, who are mainly officers, have a higher education. Evidence of the level of vocational training is the fact that over 40,000 people have been studying in Afghanistan and abroad on short- and long-term courses. Another thing is important, too. Sixty-six percent of the People's Militia personnel are members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan or the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan.

M. Mangal dwelt on the peaceful functions of the People's Militia. Its public usefulness is testified to by the following facts: Last year, and in the first quarter of this year alone, about 900 major incidents of smuggling of goods and narcotics were discovered. The uncovering of large-scale embezzlement cases has enabled the state to save 1.2 billion afghani. Behind these figures lies the painstaking toil of jurists and national economy specialists, the general said.

The People's Militia, M. Mangal stressed, is a component part of the republic's Armed Forces, and carries out important tasks of ensuring citizens' safety. In the same period the Ministry of Internal Affairs conducted nearly 1,200 independent operations to eliminate armed units which are infiltrating the country. People's Militia units have seized a large quantity of various types of weapons, including U.S. stinger missiles.

Peoples Militia soldiers, the general continued, have not only undertaken the guarding of the approaches to military positions, bases, depots, and population centers, but they also keep guard over national economy facilities. We are also carrying out much propaganda and

educational work among the population of major districts and subdistricts, implementing a policy of national reconciliation. The people are responding in lively fashion to the call for defense of the revolution: In the provinces of Herat, Nangarhar, and many others, the militia units guard public order.

The republic's Armed Forces, the general concluded, are now stronger than ever, having gained enormous experience of conducting military actions in the most complicated conditions, and they will be able to thwart the attempts of the "irreconcilables" of the opposition to encroach on people's rule.

UN Official for Afghan Aid Arrives in Moscow
*LD0607180888 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT
6 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—Sadruddin Agha Khan, special coordinator for the U.N. Humanitarian and Economic Assistance relating to Afghanistan, arrived on a working visit in Moscow today.

'Importance' of Soviet Aid
*LD0507215388 Moscow TASS in English 2116 GMT
5 Jul 88*

[Text] Geneva July 5 TASS—Sadruddin Agha Khan, coordinator for the United Nations humanitarian and economic assistance relating to Afghanistan, told TASS today that he was glad to use the trip to the USSR to discuss with Soviet leaders a report prepared by his mission.

Since the time of his appointment to the post of the coordinator of the programme, Agha Khan pointed out, he constantly felt importance of the contribution the Soviet Union was capable of making to a political settlement of the Afghan problem, especially at such an important time for its history.

He was greatly impressed, the U.N. coordinator went on to say, by the statement of a Soviet representative at a meeting of countries (held at the U.N. headquarters in New York on last June 14) which intended to make a contribution to his programme and by the fact that the USSR fully backed the programme and would participate in it on a multilateral basis.

He points out with gratitude that the Soviet Union is an important source of assistance to Afghanistan but he, nevertheless, is convinced that under the present conditions multilateral assistance should play a decisive role in laying down solid grounds for the future. He is waiting with impatience for his visit to Moscow and, above all, a discussion of the U.N. programme with Soviet leaders for rendering humanitarian and economic assistance to Afghanistan, said Agha Khan in conclusion.

Red Cross Outlines Efforts To Trace POW's
*PM0707113788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[Interview in Geneva with Jean de Courtin, general delegate of the International Red Cross Committee for the Asian and Pacific regions, by own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Interview": "Red Cross on Freeing Prisoners"—first three paragraphs are author's introduction; date not given]

[Text] Geneva—The agreements on Afghanistan signed in Geneva opened the way for establishing peace in that country. The return of millions of refugees to their native lands devastated by war, the reunion of families scattered because of the conflict, the search for relatives and friends who have lost each other, and the freeing of servicemen who were taken prisoner are important problems.

Active assistance from influential international organizations in ascertaining the fates of those Soviet soldiers who went missing in action in Afghanistan, and assistance in freeing the prisoners could undoubtedly speed up the solution to these problems. The International Red Cross Committee is one of these organizations which, at the request of the Soviet Government, has been dealing with the question of the return of Soviet POW's since the beginning of the conflict in Afghanistan.

Jean de Courtin, the committee's general delegate for the Asian and Pacific regions, met me at the International Red Cross Committee.

"Since the very beginning of military action in Afghanistan involving Soviet military subunits," Jean de Courtin says, "the International Red Cross Committee, which has information on Soviet servicemen in captivity, has been making efforts to obtain their release. In accordance with the International Red Cross Committee mandate, we are trying to get information about the Soviet servicemen who have been captured and about their state of health, and we are trying to make personal contact with them and to give them the opportunity to send information about themselves to relatives.

[Kosinskiy] Have there been any positive developments in your organization's activity recently, particularly after the agreements on Afghanistan were concluded in Geneva and the Soviet forces started to withdraw from the country?

[Courtin] Undoubtedly. The new stage in the development of the situation in Afghanistan after the Geneva agreements expanded our opportunities. I can say that on the question of the return of the Soviet POW's, we have contacts with all sides involved in the conflict. We hope that the contacts will lead to positive results. At the same time, in order to avoid aggravating the tragedy and suffering of those who live in hope that their captured

relatives and friends will return, I would not like to anticipate events and give rise to as yet unjustified hopes with unfounded statements.

The first stage of our activity is to find out the names and whereabouts of the Soviet POW's, obtain permission for access to them, establish personal contact with each one, find out about their health, and give them the opportunity to pass on news about themselves to relatives. International Red Cross Committee delegations in Islamabad, Peshawar, Quetta, and Kabul are engaged in resolving this task. The conclusion of the Geneva agreements provides an opportunity for an in-depth approach to resolving the question of the return of POW victims of the Afghan conflict. We are talking about not only Soviet servicemen who were taken prisoner but also Afghan servicemen.

[Kosinskiy] All the same, what do you believe to be the most difficult obstacles?

[Courtin] One of the problems is that for too long now both sides have failed to recognize captured personnel in the opposing forces as POW's in the legal sense. [Courtin ends]

Which of those who have vanished without trace in Afghanistan are still alive, where are they, how soon will they be able to send news about themselves?—I did not get an answer to these questions. But I was assured that the International Red Cross Committee will immediately provide information, including for IZVESTIYA readers, on all progress concerning the return home of Soviet POW's.

Report on Astrakhan Oblast, Afghan Province Ties
PM0407173788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent Yu. Shcherbinin report: "As Everlasting as Peace"]

[Text] Astrakhan—Back in June last year, representatives of Astrakhan Oblast and Afghanistan's Farah Province signed a direct ties treaty. Children took the first steps in the development of friendship at that time: A large group of Afghan children was invited to a young pioneers' camp situated in the most beautiful nature reserve in the Volga Delta. This children's "landing" marked the beginning of active cooperation between people from the Astrakhan region and their proteges.

Later on, the first convoy with gifts for the proteges was on its way, carrying foodstuffs, medicines, road building and construction equipment, and children's clothing and footwear.

An official delegation from the friendly province, comprising party officials and representatives of the clergy and the peasantry, came to Astrakhan for the celebration of Great October's 70th anniversary. They took part in

the festivities, marched in the parade, and visited industrial and agricultural enterprises and Astrakhan's mosques. While on the "Privolzhskiy" Sovkhoz the Afghans noted that local natural conditions are very similar to those in their province. And so they carefully studied the experience in agricultural work.

"On learning that direct ties had been established with Farah Province, the people of the Astrakhan region strove to get involved in this," E. Volodin, chief of the party obkom Propaganda and Agitation Department, told me. "Labor collectives and residents of the oblast are sending in money to help our friends. Another train with gifts for the proteges was put together early in 1988. This time the Afghan friends received high-grade wheat seeds, a large quantity of agricultural machinery, medical equipment, school furniture, and much else."

Soviet people have always been noted for their feelings of solidarity with the peoples struggling for their rights. Some of the Soviet men who performed their international duty in Afghanistan came from the Astrakhan region. Many of them have already returned home.

"Their return," oblispolkom Secretary S. Orlov said, "is the result of the steps taken jointly for the sake of peaceful settlement in Afghanistan by the Afghan Government and our country's government. I believe that our all-around support for the friendly people is a weighty contribution to the process of national reconciliation on Afghan soil."

Astrakhan region residents are currently hosts to a delegation of trade union officials from the twinned province. In the course of one meeting its leader, Mohammad Hashem, said that the Afghan people are very grateful to Soviet people for their assistance at a difficult time for the country. He expressed confidence that the ties between the Soviet and Afghan peoples will be as everlasting as peace.

Gromyko, India's Venkataraman at Kremlin Concert
LD0707194988 Moscow TASS in English 1702 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—A concert held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses of the Soviet Capital today was devoted to the completion of the Festival of India in the USSR.

Indian President Ramasvami Venkataraman and his wife attended the concert. Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, his wife and other officials were present at the concert together with the Indian leader.

The state flags of India and the Soviet Union were hoisted in the hall.

Indian Machine-Building Exhibition Opens
PM0307141588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Jul 88 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Opening of Exhibition"]

[Excerpts] An exhibition which opened 1 July in one of the pavilions of the complex in Moscow's Krasnaya Presnya demonstrates the rapidly changing face of industrial India. More than 100 of that country's major manufacturers of machine building output, construction companies, and engineering design firms will acquaint Soviet specialists with the indisputable achievements in diverse spheres of production. [passage omitted]

V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who spoke at the opening of the exhibition, read out the greetings from N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the organizers of and participants in the Indian machine building exhibition.

Greetings to the exhibition organizers were received from Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi. [passage omitted]

Ryzhkov Greetings

PM0307135588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[USSR Council of Ministers Chairman Ryzhkov greets Indian Machine Building Exhibition in Moscow; undated]

[Text] To the Organizers of and Participants in the Indian Machine Building Exhibition in Moscow

On behalf of the Soviet Government, I greet the organizers of and participants in the Indian machine building exhibition in Moscow.

The exhibition is one of the important measures marking the culmination of the Republic of India festival in the Soviet Union. Soviet people are gladdened by the achievements of friendly India, by the high level and depth of content of Soviet-Indian economic and scientific and technical ties.

The realization of the accords reached during Soviet-Indian summit meetings in Moscow and Delhi elevates our countries' cooperation—including that important sector of industry known as machine building—to qualitatively new heights. Real prerequisites have been created for the broad development of new forms of our countries' economic collaboration—such as production sharing, the creation of joint enterprises, and the establishment of direct ties between Soviet organizations and enterprises and Indian corporations and firms. In this context there is an increasing role for the exchange of information on all the said areas, and the Indian machine building exhibition now opening is designed to serve this purpose.

I am sure that the holding of the Indian machine building exhibition in Moscow will be a notable event in the life of our countries and will serve the further development and deepening of comprehensive mutually advantageous ties between the USSR and India.

I wish the organizers and all participants in the exhibition fruitful and successful work.

N. Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Indian Trade Union Chiefs Arrive in Moscow
PM0607120588 Moscow TRUD in Russian
6 Jul 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation's Arrival"]

[Text] Leaders of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Indian National Trade Union Congress, the United Trade Union Congress, and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha Trade Union Center arrived in Moscow on 5 July to participate in a consultative meeting on questions of Soviet-Indian trade union ties. The delegations of Indian trade union centers were met at the airport by AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev; AUCCTU Secretaries K.T. Turysov and G.I. Yanayev; and I.I. Kostyukov, chairman of the Metallurgical Industry Workers Union Central Committee. The Soviet-Indian trade union consultative meeting began its work at the Palace of Labor the same day.

Vorontsov, Syrian Ambassador Exchange Documents
LD0607215788 Moscow International Service in Arabic
1500 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] First Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov and the Syrian ambassador to the Soviet Union, Muhammad 'Isam Na'ib, exchanged two documents concerning the conclusion of an agreement on technical and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic, a protocol related to traditional accounting issues, which was signed in Damascus in April 1985, and also an agreement on economic and technical cooperation concerning the building of the Teshrin financial establishment signed in Damascus in June 1987.

PDRY Official in Moscow En Route for Prague
EA0307213288 Aden ANA in Arabic 1323 GMT
3 Jul 88

[Text] Comrade Dr Yasin Sa'id Nu'man, member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers, arrived this morning in Moscow on his way to Prague to attend the 44th session of the CEMA.

On arrival he was received by Comrade Dinkov, USSR petroleum industry minister; Comrade (Sautchuk), deputy [words indistinct] foreign economic relations and deputy secretary of CEMA; Dr Ahmad 'Abdallah 'Abd

al-'Ilah, member of the YSP [Yemeni Socialist Party] Central Committee and our country's ambassador to the USSR; and officials of our embassy and the Foreign Ministry.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Party Delegation Returns From Rwanda
PM0607102788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation's Return"]

[Text] On 2 July a CPSU delegation led by G.M. Goloshchapov, second secretary of the Tyumen CPSU Obkom, which took part in the Sixth Congress of Rwanda's National Revolutionary Movement for Development, returned to Moscow.

Zambian Ambassador Leaves Moscow 3 Jul
PM0607113588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Fines Mushauwa Liboma, Zambian ambassador to the USSR, left Moscow 3 July.

"Studio 74" Program Assesses African Problems
LD0307065488 Moscow in Portuguese to Portugal
1830 GMT 1 Jul 88

[From the "Studio 74" program presented by Igor Potovski, with Fedor Glavkiy of the Union of Journalists and Writers; Yevgeniy Tarabrin of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Domingos Coelho da Cruz, chairman of the Angolan League of Friendship With the Peoples; and Oleg Ignatyev and Vladimir Kolontay, not further identified]

[Excerpts] [Potovski] Today we shall be focusing on a subject that may initially seem abstract: What and how we write on Africa and for Africa, and how we need to write. [passage omitted] We have Fedor Gladkov, representative of the Union of Journalists and writers, here.

[Gladkov in Russian fading into Portuguese translation] A paradoxical situation is created. We talk a lot about how our opponents distort information, especially concerning the processes taking place in Africa where people under the colonial yoke are being liberated. At the same time, however, we must also be aware that here—in socialist countries and in the USSR—there is a certain distortion of these processes in the other direction.

If we speak about the insidious slander and distortions of facts, these distortions in our countries are caused for benevolent reasons. Due to the deepest sympathy for the

African people's struggle for their freedom, a compassionate attitude for everything occurring in Africa has been instilled in us. [passage omitted]

I was in Ethiopia 3 years ago at the height of the terrible famine. I visited Eritrea, where the famine was particularly moving. I read what was written in the West about the famine. Slander. The famine was explained through the policy of people's power. They said that had there not been a revolution in Ethiopia there would have been no famine, but I also read what was written in the Soviet press and that of other socialist countries. They only spoke of disasters—there were exultant reports. They said that with another ship laden with food, everything would be fine, for the time being we cannot do anything about the disaster. However, we know about many mistakes that were made and many negative phenomena. It seems to me that now that we have given up our mental clichés, we should be more honest with ourselves and our mutual relations so as to help ourselves to eradicate everything impeding our progress. In order to help each other, to have a correct idea of the processes that have taken place, and to take some measures to correctly guide public opinion not only with regard to achievements, but also possible complications, we should be truthful with each other in how we see problems.

[Tarabrin in Russian fading into Portuguese translation] I think that with regard to reports on difficulties, there are no problems in Africa or in the USSR. It is easy to report, but the question lies in our reporting. Do you understand? It is necessary to have compassion. Recently, I read an article called "Compassion From Afar." It is important to know this, but it is also necessary to discuss what needs to be done.

[Potovski] The notable Soviet journalist Oleg Ignatyev is now on. For many years he has dealt with African affairs.

[Ignatyev in Russian fading into Portuguese translation] I do not agree with what has been said, for example, on Africa, that we painted everything in rosy terms for all these years. I have been to Africa several times and I will not take back a single word of what I wrote. [passage omitted]

Each country has its problems—just like us. We need to do everything. Journalists and writers have to write in such a way so as to know what is needed to help. It is necessary to participate in seeking ways to correct the situation, the shortcomings, the ills in this or that country. It is necessary to seek solutions for conflicts. Recently, for example, Soviet television made a documentary in Mozambique on the situation there and the anti-Mozambican forces' war against the people. Actions of this type will no doubt contribute to our people understanding African problems and will be useful for the African people of the relevant country.

[Kolontay in Russian fading into Portuguese translation] What Fedor Gladkov refers to has serious grounds, it seems to me. We do not always inform each other of our

experiences nor of our problems or mistakes. If we spoke more about them, other friends of ours would perhaps not repeat them so often. My main idea is that now the questions of mankind's survival, which are put forward on the basis of the new mentality in today's foreign policy, demand a more detailed and concrete awareness than before. For this, the exchange of opinions should be concrete. [passage omitted]

[Coelho da Cruz] What is happening in my country is, I believe, what is happening in most African countries. Problems are normally seen on an intellectual level, which is not real. It should not be taken as being real, since we should begin by talking about concrete things. I think that it is not real since most of our African people are country folk. They are people who have not yet attained a level of education which is good enough to think in intellectual terms. On what will they base the most burning problems of today? I think they use concrete facts, what they experience in their daily life.

Let us take our country. It is a victim of aggression, a country going through a war, where there is hunger, children who have no parents or toys and do not know what a ball is; the girls do not know what it is to play with dolls, because they do not have any. Talking about nuclear war in the rural areas is utopian. Intellectuals living in the cities know perfectly well that in fact a nuclear war would mean the end of humanity and that the socialist countries led by the USSR are making an effort to get rid of this danger for the good of humanity. But these, as I said, are the intellectuals, because most of our people—imagine me going there talking about nuclear war—they will say: Comrade Coelho da Cruz, we think he is out of his mind. He is talking about a war coming from the sky, falling from the sky, but we are dying, and this is not coming from the sky. We are dying at the hands of people armed with guns who see us and kill us. [passage omitted]

[Potovski] It is true that it is important to speak to people in a language they can understand, without distortions or conjuring away their problems, camouflaging them under high-minded [word indistinct]. It is only thus that thousands and millions of people can be made to understand that no one person will ever have ready-made solutions. This is very important when it deals with the problems of survival, and there is no alternative.

East Europe

U.S. Envoy to SFRY Summoned on Plane Incident
LD0707152488 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade July 7 TASS—Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Drago Mirošic today summoned to the secretariat the U.S. Ambassador in Yugoslavia John Scanlan and made a demarche over the deaths of six Yugoslav citizens in the Iranian passenger airliner. This is reported by the TANJUG news agency.

The plane was downed by the U.S. Navy in the Persian Gulf on Sunday.

Zaykov Receives Belgrade Communist Delegation
PM0707133588 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 5 Jul 88 p 1

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA-TASS report: "Delegation From Belgrade"]

[Text] A delegation from the Belgrade League of Communists City Committee arrived in Moscow yesterday at the invitation of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom. It is headed by Committee Presidium President R. Smiljkovic. The delegation consists of S. Jovanovic, member of the Committee Presidium and chief editor of the newspaper POLITIKA-EKSPRES; Committee Executive Secretary B. Tomic; and M. Jaksic, president of the Vozdovac League of Communists Municipality Committee.

The delegation was met at Sheremetyevo Airport by Yu.S. Karabasov, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; senior officials from the Moscow Party Gorkom; and SFRY Ambassador to the USSR M. Veres.

On the same day, the delegation had a meeting with L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

L.N. Zaykov briefed the visitors on the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the tasks of Communists in the Soviet capital in implementing the party forum's decisions. R. Smiljkovic spoke about the work of Belgrade's Communists in implementing the action program outlined by the LCY national conference.

It was emphasized that Communists and working people in Moscow and Belgrade make a weighty contribution to strengthening friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the LCY and between the USSR and the SFRY.

SFRY Ambassador to the USSR M. Veres took part in the conversation, which proceeded in a frank and friendly atmosphere.

Hosts Dinner for Group

LD0700230300 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] The Belgrade city conference delegation of the LCY which is visiting Moscow met today with the capital's party aktiv. Delegation head Smiljkovic, president of the Presidium of the LCY city conference, gave a speech in which he highly assessed the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and wished the Communists and the workers of the Soviet capital great successes in achieving the intended goals.

On the same day, a dinner was given on behalf of the Moscow Gorkom in honor of the Yugoslav delegation. At the dinner Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, spoke; Comrade Smiljkovic also gave a speech.

Polish Aides View Upcoming Gorbachev Visit
PM0707105788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "With Great Affection. On the Eve of M.S. Gorbachev's Visit to Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jul—The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference has generated tremendous interest inside Poland and has consolidated the course of changes symbolized by the name of M.S. Gorbachev. J. Urban, Polish Government press spokesman, has stated. During a news conference held today in Warsaw, he stressed that the Soviet Communists' forum was an illustration of glasnost, frankness, and democracy and outlined concrete measures aimed at restructuring relations and structures within the Soviet Union.

In connection with M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming official friendly visit to Poland, the Polish Government spokesman pointed out that the policy of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary is held in great affection by Poles. It serves to strengthen the course of socialist renewal and reforms in Poland and also those forces which support the transformations.

In an interview with PAP published yesterday in the press, J. Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, expressed the opinion that the visit will inaugurate a new phase in Polish-Soviet relations. It is not excluded that it will be possible to assess it in the broader historical context of relations between the two countries.

Jaruzelski Cited on Visit
LD0707182288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, was interviewed by a NOVOYE VREMYA magazine correspondent.

He said in particular: In Poland and in our party, we are very happy about the remarkable progress achieved at the CPSU conference. We welcome with satisfaction the changes brought about by restructuring and the new thinking. Everywhere these changes are connected with the personality of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. They are perceived in our party and among the Polish people as a whole with great recognition and profound affection. There are important reasons for this because these ideas give new dynamism to socialism.

Since the October Revolution and Lenin's time, there has not been, from the viewpoint of the socialist system, such a large-scale undertaking as restructuring. We attach immense importance to the exchange of experience between allies and friends. It helps us to more quickly and more effectively find innovative solutions which promote the development of socialism and, at the same time, help to guard against serious errors. Socialism has reached the point in its history when it is necessary to reform all spheres of life.

The visit by the CPSU general secretary to Poland, Comrade Jaruzelski went on to say, will take place at a time when qualitatively new cooperation between socialist states is being created. Our cooperation is marked with increasingly more noticeable joint efforts aimed at accelerating scientific-technical progress. It is characterized in the entire system of mutual relations by efficiency, initiative, and consistency. We want this visit, our talks, and accords to play an important role also in all spheres, particularly in the strengthening of the Warsaw Treaty and its activity, which is aimed at consolidating security in Europe, and also in the renewal of CEMA structures and its functioning.

Rakowski on Upcoming Event
LD0707224088 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 7 TASS—TASS correspondent A. Pershin reports:

The press centre of the official friendly visit of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev to the Polish People's Republic opened in Warsaw today. Its branches also opened in Krakow and Szczecin, the cities that the Soviet leader is to visit.

Speaking at a press conference, devoted to the event, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Mieczyslaw Rakowski has said that Mikhail Gorbachev will pay a visit to Poland after the completion of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU, at which the political course carried out by the CPSU leader received all-out support of the delegates. The interest in the forthcoming visit is great. Mikhail Gorbachev enjoys in the Polish People's Republic great prestige and sympathy of the Poles. He is the political leader who has become aware of the need for fundamental reforms under socialism and made a big practical contribution to its reconstruction. Mieczyslaw Rakowski underlined the similarity of the aims of the CPSU and the Polish United Workers' Party, their identity in the vision of the present-day world and the problems which are to be resolved by the communists in both countries. The visit will help consolidate all forces of the Polish people coming out for reforms, for socialist renewal. It will also help overcome the sentiments of mistrust, negative attitude to the USSR, which are now and then current amid a certain part of Polish society, but which however

considerably lessened in the recent time. That was promoted to a major extent by the principled course of wiping out the so-called "blank spaces" that piled up in the relations between the two countries over the period of their history.

Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland will be of great significance for the future of relations between the USSR and the Polish People's Republic. It will be an important event in the life of the Polish people, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said.

Great interest being shown in the visit by the Polish and world press was noted at the press conference. As many as 810 journalists, among them 410 foreign ones, have been accredited by now at the press centre. Technical personnel included, a total of almost 1,500 workers of mass media will service Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland. Prominent politicians, statesmen and public figures, scientists of the USSR and the Polish People's Republic will meet every day with journalists at the press centre during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland.

MSZMP's Gromz Holds Moscow News Conference
PM0707151788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[F. Lukyanov report: "Karel Gromz: 'Historic Significance of Restructuring'"]

[Text] It was not only journalists but also people who often play the role of interviewers—chief editors of newspapers and magazines, political observers, and institute directors—who awaited this meeting at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center with interest and impatience. They had all come to meet Karel Gromz, general secretary of the MSZMP, who was elected to this post at the Hungarian national party conference held this May and who heads the Hungarian Council of Ministers. At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, he was visiting our country for the first time in the capacity of MSZMP general secretary. Anticipating many questions from the hall, Karel Gromz first talked about his impressions of the visit.

[Gromz] I had a very interesting and meaningful meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, which took place in an exceptionally amicable spirit. I briefed the general secretary on the situation in our country after the national party conference and on the political circumstances and conditions in which we have now embarked on implementing its decisions.

In turn, Karel Gromz pointed out, I had an opportunity to familiarize myself with the Soviet leader's opinion on the tremendous, truly worldwide significance of the event which took place in Moscow last week and which confirmed to the whole world the historic significance of restructuring—the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

We held thorough consultations on questions of bilateral relations and discussed problems on which we are to work together in the coming years.

Karel Gromz answered questions put by the representatives of the mass media.

If we are talking about the economy, he said, in response to a question from IZVESTIYA's correspondent on the implementation of the economic reform initiated 20 years ago, then although the population's standard of living was lower 20 years ago, the state of the economy was more sort of balanced. First, there was no foreign debt. Hence, some people are tempted to draw the conclusion that the present difficulties in the Hungarian economy are the result of the policy of reforms. That is not the case. One should rather seek the causes in the inconsistency in implementing economic transformations. Of course, the mistakes and miscalculations which were committed in the sphere of economic policy played a crucial role. Lastly, mistakes of a subjective character were made. As for the reform itself, I must say that the process initiated 20 years ago soon slowed down and has only begun to gather momentum in recent years.

What has been achieved in this time? Above all, enterprises' independence has grown considerably, and a two-tier banking system has been established and expanded. The number of mandatory indicators for enterprises has dropped considerably, the system of financial influence on enterprises' economic activity has been stepped up, the tax system has been simplified, and new forms of economic activity have emerged—above all, individual labor activity and private activity. Six percent of the means of production, which create 20 percent of the GNP, are under private ownership.

As for the question of the population's attitude toward the reform, I must say that the reforms are now regarded in a much better light than ever in the past. People are for rather than against the reform.

[Question] Could you talk about the most important areas of the political reform approved by the national party conference?

[Gromz] First, we are trying to ensure that management functions are divided more effectively between party and state organs and public organizations. Second, we are endeavoring to improve the system of relations within the state apparatus, in particular, between parliament and government. Next, we are posing the task of boosting the role and independence of local organs of power. Within the party, we have mounted a struggle against formalism and are striving to bring relations between elective organs and the apparatus into line with contemporary requirements. Next, the entire system of relations between party organs and organizations of various levels will be changed, and the principle here is that of ensuring

greater independence. Briefly, the aim of the political reform—along with broadening socialist democracy—is to guarantee the party's leading role.

[Question] Last fall, the Hungarian National Assembly adopted an economic and social stabilization program which, in the opinion of economists, began the third phase of Hungary's reform. How successfully is this program being implemented almost 1 year after its adoption?

[Grosz] In the first 5 months of this year, we had a balance of trade surplus in convertible currency for the first time in 15 years. Our commodity turnover with socialist countries is also balanced. We planned and secured a 1.5-percent increase in industrial production. A 7-percent increase in agricultural output was planned, and a 6-percent increase has already been achieved. The planned indicators are also being fulfilled in other spheres.

So the stabilization program adopted by the Hungarian Government is at present being fulfilled precisely according to plan. However, it will be possible to obtain a fuller idea of this at the end of the year.

West Europe

Soviet 'Official' Admits Submarine Incursions
PM0607095388 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET
in Swedish 30 Jun 88 p 6

[Roger Magnergard report: "Soviet Government Source Confirms Violations"]

[Text] In two separate interviews a Soviet Government official has told AFTONBLADET's Moscow correspondent that the Soviet Union did send its submarines on operations in Swedish waters up to 1985.

The assertions have, however, been categorically denied by Soviet Ambassador in Stockholm Boris Pankin. The Defense Staff in Stockholm has simply confirmed that violations are continuing.

"And as long as we have submarines violating Swedish waters, we intend to do everything to stop them, even to continue to attack them with depth charges and mines," Evert Dahlen of the Defense Staff Information Department said.

According to AFTONBLADET's source, the motive behind the violations was that the Soviet military had no confidence in Sweden's neutrality and therefore believed that its coasts should be researched before a possible war broke out.

The government official is an expert on Scandinavia and told AFTONBLADET that the Soviet Union's global strategy was such that "Sweden happened to come within its reach."

AFTONBLADET's informant said that the reason for the violations was as follows:

"Presumably the military had a need to know Swedish waters in advance, before things got serious. They had to know where they could hide from the Swedish Navy and from Swedish electronic equipment for tracking submarines. As far as I understand things, this is a strategy used by all countries which have defense forces, even Sweden. We know that Sweden engages in surveillance against us—spying, quite simply—to discover how military forces will be used in a war."

According to the government official, before Gorbachev came to power in 1985 the Soviet military leadership found it easy to persuade the party leadership that the violations were necessary.

The source said that Soviet foreign policy has changed and that "without doubt there are no Soviet submarines in Swedish waters today."

The Swedish defense forces noticed that the violating submarines changed their behavior for the first time in connection with the Uto incident in 1980, when the submarine, once it had been discovered, steered in toward Swedish waters and started to play hide-and-seek with the Swedish units.

Since then the violations have been a long-running series. In 1981 Submarine 137 ran aground in Gasefjarden. In 1982 three minisubmarines were hunted in Harsfjarden. In 1983 there were submarine hunts off Sundsvall and Karlskrona. In the spring of 1984 the Karlskrona basin received another visit.

Soviet Embassy Deputy Press Secretary Aleksandr Mikhaylov was instructed by Ambassador Pankin yesterday to clarify for SVENSKA DAGBLADET's readers the Soviet Union's attitude toward the violations.

"We can say categorically, with great certainty, that there have never been any Russian submarines in the Swedish archipelagoes or territorial waters. The Soviet Union has nothing to do with the violations," Mikhaylov said.

"We have also stated this officially at a very high and authoritative level."

Mikhaylov said that no one at the embassy knows the source behind AFTONBLADET's report.

"No one has even heard that AFTONBLADET's correspondent is supposed to have met any Soviet Government representative."

[Magnergard] If that were the case, would you know about it?

"We know nothing about such a fact; that comment is sufficient."

"The only time a Soviet submarine found itself in Sweden's archipelagoes was in connection with the navigational error in 1981, and we have already apologized for that."

So the official Soviet line remains firm, despite the fact that AFTONBLADET's anonymous government official claims something different. [passage omitted]

Gerasimov Denies Reports

PM0107105188 Moscow TRUD in Russian
1 Jul 88 p 11

[TASS report: "Laboratory of New Thinking"]

[Excerpts] The UN General Assembly's third special session on disarmament was essentially a laboratory of new thinking on disarmament, the most important avenue of the formation of all-embracing security, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy said. He was commenting 30 June at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center on the results of the session which ended in New York recently. [passage omitted]

The briefing was also addressed by G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, who denied a report in the Swedish newspaper AFTONBLADET on the entry of Soviet submarines into Swedish territorial waters. The Foreign Ministry spokesman announced that that newspaper's Moscow correspondent, citing an interview with some "Soviet Government official who is a specialist on the Nordic

countries," had written that Soviet submarines were allegedly violating Swedish territorial waters before 1985. In this connection G.I. Gerasimov said: "A submarine violated the borders of Swedish territorial waters on one occasion in 1981. It was not done deliberately or intentionally and the Soviet side apologized. The reason for the violation was a malfunction in navigation instruments. As for AFTONBLADET's present assertions, I can only describe them as stories which it is attempting to authenticate by ascribing them to Soviet representatives. There have not been and are not any government officials specializing in the Nordic countries who could have allowed such an absurd statement."

Trade Union Delegation Visits Switzerland

PM0507122188 Moscow TRUD in Russian
5 Jul 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Delegation's Departure"]

[Text] A Soviet trade union delegation headed by AUCCTU Secretary V.P. Provotorov left for Switzerland 3 July at the invitation of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions.

The delegation will visit a series of industrial enterprises, see for itself the working and living conditions of Swiss working people, and exchange experiences on the way trade unions exercise their protective functions.

Political & Social

Work Stoppages, Disorders Continue In Yerevan

Situation 'Difficult'

PM0707134688 Moscow TRUD in Russian
7 Jul 88 p 4

["Own information" report under the "We Report the Details" rubric: "Regarding the Events in Yerevan"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday TRUD described the situation prevailing at Yerevan's Zvartnots Airport. Reports subsequently received portray the situation in the Armenian capital in more detail. [passage omitted]

The editorial office contacted the Armenian SSR Internal Affairs Ministry Political Department by telephone. Staffers there reported that several groups of irresponsible people had tried to stop a railroad station and trade enterprises from working. The situation at Zvartnots was aggravated by the fact that the airport is used by international airlines, whose flights have been interrupted. Around 60 flights in all have been postponed, and almost 14,000 passengers have been unable to leave on time. Unfortunately, the Political Department said, there have been casualties among both the violators and those trying to restore order.

Troops are patrolling Theater Square to protect public order. In response, some Yerevan drivers, unable to think of anything better, have begun driving around the city streets constantly honking their horns and increasing tension.

According to information received from TRUD public correspondents, public transport was not working yesterday: Buses, trolleybuses, and streetcars did not go out on their routes. Measures are being taken to get them working again.

Medical and trade establishments and enterprises producing foodstuffs are operating as usual. In Yerevan's Leninskiy Rayon, its largest industrial district, the "Nairit" science and production association, a chemical reagents plant, and other enterprises operating on a continuous cycle are continuing to work.

The opinion of many city inhabitants is clear: Those who have been doing everything to hinder the normal operation of city services should unquestionably be stopped.

"We consider the strike and particularly the attempt to blockade the airport a reckless step," said war and labor veteran A. Gevorgyan. "There has been nothing like it in Yerevan in the 5 months of events connected with the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.... Only irresponsible people could have conceived the idea of bringing the wishes of their fellow-countrymen into disrepute. We favor constitutional, democratic ways of solving problems...."

Speaking on Yerevan television yesterday evening, S. Petrosyan, member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and leader of a team of machine operatives at the "Nairit" Science and Production Association, urged his fellow-countrymen to see sense and return to work.

The situation in the city, according to the republic Internal Affairs Ministry, remains difficult. As we were writing this report, a rally was taking place at Matenadaran, and large groups of city inhabitants were assembling at the Molodezhnaya subway station.

Zvartnots Airport has begun operating. Passengers are arriving there by bus and flying out to Moscow, Vilnius, and Berlin.

TV Reports Airport Disorders

LD0707225688 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 7 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Yesterday we broadcast a report from Yerevan on events at Zvartnots Airport. Today our special correspondents provide new details:

[Begin recording] [B. Baryshnikov, identified by caption] Let us briefly recap: On 4 July a large group of people arrived at Zvartnots Airport from the direction of Yerevan, with the aim of calling on the airport workers to strike. The principal cause of the wave of strikes is based on the demand, which is already well known, that the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast join Armenia. A situation arose which became a serious obstacle to work at the airport and the operation of flights. Calls to leave the airport were of no use. Then, on 5 July, military subunits had to be brought in here. There were casualties [postradavshiye] as a result of implementing measures to bring about order. [video shows cars on open road; about a dozen civilians standing in small groups in a road, which is blocked by some 20 men in military uniform standing in a row across its width; another road blocked by five soldiers, one of whom gestures to the vehicle in which the camera is traveling to stop]

We visited Zvartnots Airport again today. Flights have resumed at last—but still far from fully, to be sure. The numerical strength of the military subunits has been reduced significantly, although the posts have not been withdrawn everywhere. It is difficult for the airport services to arrange the uninterrupted provision of the main types of services for passengers, since passenger transport has not started running again as a result of the strikes in the city. A certain proportion of Aeroflot employees are not able to reach their workplaces. [video shows general scenes outside and inside airport building, including a shot of uncleared garbage and of people looking up at an arrivals board announcing a flight from

Kiev due on the 4th; video switches to show correspondent interviewing one of two men leaving a building marked as the Armenian Civil Aviation Directorate]

(?May we) stop you and (?have a word) with you? Were you at work on the 5th?

[First unidentified man] Yes. I was at work, and I live here, near the airport.

[Baryshnikov] What can you say about what you saw here on the 5th?

[Man] It is very difficult, and almost impossible, to describe in words what I saw. In my opinion, very innocent passengers suffered.

[Second unidentified man] I am a passenger on Flight 7217, which was due to depart on the 4th; but because of what happened here, the strike which was going on here in Armenia, I was not able to leave.

[Unidentified] woman] Our children, tourists from Alma-Ata, have been sleeping on the floor in the airport for the 2nd day running. They are not getting enough to eat: In the first place, there is no hot food at all, no hot tea, nothing—they are literally on dry food. Today we managed somehow to get them to sell us some milk; they have had a bottle of milk each to drink. Do you think that is normal?

[Baryshnikov] How many children have you got with you on your excursion?

[Woman] We are a group of 30. Take a look. [video shows woman pointing to children standing beside her] It is a mixed group from the 5th to the 10th classes.

[Baryshnikov] Is there any hope of getting out today?

[Woman] No, they are not saying anything. In the first place, we have been looking for the airport manager, the man in charge of the airport building, for 3 days. We cannot get anything anywhere at the information center; nobody can say properly and clearly when we will be leaving.

[Baryshnikov] People are getting irritable; many are on edge and it is difficult for everybody. [video switches to show correspondent in office with man identified by caption as Yu.G. Mnatsakanov, chief of the Armenian Civil Aviation Directorate]

[Mnatsakanov] We are planning to get back on schedule by the 10th. In the meantime, the picture is like this: 26 flights on Tu-154 aircraft have not left; nor have 6 flights on Il-86 aircraft or 16 flights on Tu-134 aircraft. You can imagine how many passengers there are in the airport now waiting for their flights. It is too early now to draw

a line under all our losses, and not everything can be measured in money; the moral damage which we and our passengers are suffering is significantly more important than the material losses.

[Baryshnikov] But this is the question: Could the organizers of the strikes not have known that something like this might happen? [video shows man in the restaurant placing his hand over the camera; then cutting to show correspondent in conversation with that man]

[Baryshnikov] So, do you think that we should not film anything at all?

[Third unidentified man] You should film, but we want....

[Baryshnikov, interrupting] Then why are you trying to cover the camera?

[Man] Because, of course, because it is all just being done for the sake of it. I do not believe that I shall ever hear this conversation or that it is not just being filmed for the sake of it. That is how it is: I do not believe it. [end recording]

[Announcer] Our special correspondent had conversations with many passengers at Zvartnots Airport, and the latter did not conceal their indignation at the illegal actions of aggressively minded groups. How was such a thing possible? Where was the elementary notion of law and order and the legitimate interests of passengers? Was some people's common sense really overwhelmed by their nationalist intoxication? Did the feelings of humanity, friendliness, and hospitality which are characteristic of the Armenian people really atrophy away within them? Who will answer for this? Who is the organizer? Where are the extremists taking things? This is what passengers at Zvartnots Airport are indignantly asking.

Airport Operations Resume

LD0707183488 Moscow World Service in English
1800 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Excerpts] The airport of Yerevan, the capital of the Republic of Armenia, has resumed operations. For 2 days it was paralyzed by demonstrations that demanded that the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh be joined to Armenia. [passage omitted]

Disturbances at the airport led to over 60 flights delayed. Interior Ministry units had to oust the protestors from the airport premises. Thirty-six people were wounded. One of them later died in hospital.

Situation 'Not Improved'

PM0707143388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent S. Bablunyan report: "The Situation Has Not Improved"]

[Text] Yerevan, 7 Jul—A considerable number, if not the bulk, of industrial enterprises and construction and transportation organizations continue to stand idle today in Yerevan and throughout the republic. This morning I did not see a single trolleybus, bus, or streetcar. True, the subway is running, but in rejecting the strike call, the subway's labor collective council adopted a resolution to carry people—but for free.

The city authorities' efforts to change the situation for the better have not yet produced any results. Alas, that is the reality. The decision to remove the cordon around Theater Square was the only correct decision—the square was empty and drawing nobody in particular. At any rate, that was the case at 1100 local time.

Today the republic newspapers published an Armenian SSR MVD report, which states, in particular, that Yerevan citizen Kh. Zakaryan was severely injured on Echmiadzinskiy Highway on 5 July and died on arrival at the hospital. Criminal proceedings have been instituted, and an investigation is under way in connection with the case. Needless to say, this kind of information is necessary, since during this worrying period all kinds of rumors are rife in the city; people want to know nothing but the truth and are entitled to expect it.

Zvartnots Airport is working. E. Papikyan, chief of the Armenian Civil Aviation Administration, reports. Passengers with tickets for 5 and 6 July will leave Yerevan today.

Reports From Yerevan, NKAO

PM0807105888 Moscow TRUD in Russian
8 Jul 88 p 4

[Own information report from Yerevan and TRUD correspondent T. Kasumova report from Stepanakert: "7 July Reports"]

[Text] [Own information report] From Yerevan [subhead]

Public transport has not yet resumed operation in the Armenian capital. Some of the industrial enterprises have begun to produce output. However, the personnel of many plants and factories, meeting at the gates, have not begun work. Employees of the republican trade union committees met with labor collectives, trying to organize normal production activity.... Medical institutions, public catering services, and stores remain open.

In regions adjacent to Yerevan, the population is engaged in agricultural work.

The local press has published a report from the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs. It says: Rumors are spreading in the city in connection with the fact that on 5 July Kh. Zakharyan was gravely wounded on the Echmiadzin Highway and died in hospital. The ministry announced that criminal proceedings have begun and an investigation is in progress....

By evening, Theater Square, from which the public order protection troops had removed the cordon, was again filled. Here, in particular, words of condemnation were repeatedly heard concerning the irresponsibility of the young people who tried to blockade "Zvartnots" Airport. These actions, in the opinion of sensible and realistic citizens, led to undesirable consequences and damaged the citizens' reputation.

Yesterday evening Vazgen, catholicos of all the Armenians, addressed his compatriots on republican television, calling for wisdom, prudence, calm, and respect for the laws. The catholicos also called for the unshakable friendship of the Soviet peoples to be observed.

[Kasumova report] ...And From Stepanakert [subhead]

Azerbaijan SSR—Once again there is a tense, expectant silence in Stepanakert. The streets are empty of people, the occasional passer-by calls in at the food stores—only they and the life-supporting enterprises: bakeries and meat and dairy combines—are working.

It was reported by telephone from the party gorkom that the rest of the city—industrial enterprises, transportation, construction organizations, consumer services, and the majority of institutions—are still at a standstill. Despite the appearance on local television by G. Pogosyan, first secretary of the party obkom, who called on the city's working people to go to work, the strike continues. And meanwhile the enterprises' debts increase. The total sum of underproduction of output in the autonomous oblast has already passed the R40 million mark. The workers of Stepanakert's factories and plants have in that time failed to secure profit amounting to more than R4 million. Yet these are the very funds that could also be used to satisfy the needs of the labor collectives, which for months now have been depriving themselves even of wages....

Unfortunately, the appeals from their numerous associates throughout the country who find themselves in a fairly serious situation because of failures in deliveries from Stepanakert (amounting to nearly R20 million) remain unheard.

Strike Effects Reported

PM0807104188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 8 Jul 88 p 4

[Report by "our special correspondents" S. Korepanov, Yu. Belanov, and N. Ordinyan: "Yerevan, 7 July"]

[Text] Yerevan-Moscow—Work at Yerevan's "Zvartnots" Airport was paralyzed for 2 days. Only on 7 July were regular flights resumed. According to information from the Ministry of Civil Aviation, because of the

strikers' actions, 65 flights were delayed and losses totalled about R2 million. Some 18,500 passengers were delayed at airports in 31 of the country's cities with which Yerevan has air communications.

On 5 July the airmen turned for help to the railroad workers and the latter organized an additional Moscow-Yerevan train, which was taken by 850 people.

We telephoned S. Fadeyev, chief of the Armenian Civil Aviation Administration political department. Here is what he said:

On 4 July the administration labor collective council was urgently convened and unanimously decided not to take part in the strike. Nonetheless some of the airport's engineering and technical staff joined the strikers and the strikers' pickets halted the airline workers, removed their shoulder insignia, and insulted them. All the Armenian SSR Civil Aviation Administration workers had to switch to civilian clothing. F. Sarkisyan, chairman of the republic's council of ministers, spoke on Armenian Television yesterday. He said that there would be a careful analysis of what has occurred and the culprits would be brought to book.

...Party, soviet, and economic leaders gathered at 0800 hours in the office of L. Saakyan, first secretary of the Yerevan party gorkom. After a brief consultation on current issues, they dispersed to the industrial enterprises which provide the country with output worth over R10 million every day. Or to be more precise, used to provide this amount—before 4 July. Now of the 230 Yerevan associations, only 52 are working at full capacity, 37 have been halted, and the others are operating only in part.

During these difficult days for the republic the food industry enterprises have not stopped for a minute. There are dozens of them. The flagship is the "Moloko" Production Association.

"Yesterday we produced over 300 tonnes of wholemilk output, 12 tonnes of cheese, and 45 tonnes of ice cream, which is in excess of our capacities," association director S. Tonoyan says.

We saw the trucks carrying output coming out of the association gates. But there is something else: the enterprises' empty entrances. On the other hand meetings are under way on the approaches to Teatrnaya Square, encircled by the militia.

The Yerevan subway has been operating without interruption all these days. In the hall of the Marshal Bagramyan Avenue station we met with Z. Galstyan, deputy chief of the party gorkom industry and transport department.

"There was a meeting of subway workers during the night," Zaven Ivanovich says. "Realizing that the stopping of the subway would complicate to the extreme the already tense situation in the city, the collective decided: We will not stop work."

There would be considerably more enterprises in operation in Yerevan today if public transport had delivered people promptly to the plants and factories. We want to stress that virtually all transport enterprises expressed themselves in favor of uninterrupted work. And despite this, the city has been paralyzed for the past 2 days. Normal traffic is being impeded by small groups of young people who are telling people at the stops to go away and telling drivers to return their vehicles to the pool. And the majority... is obeying the minority.

There is no doubt that under present conditions, the militia alone cannot introduce order in the city without the social activeness of the Yerevan people themselves. Nor will the enterprises standing idle begin to operate without universal support.

...Before sending this reportage to the editorial office we passed by Teatrnaya Square once again. There were fewer people here. We telephoned from the newspaper's correspondents' center to the plants and factories. Unfortunately few additional working hands have turned up here, yet they are extremely necessary to working Yerevan today.

'Well-Planned Provocation'

PM0807113388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 8 Jul 88 p 2

[Own correspondent A. Sarkisyan article: "Continuing Disquiet"]

[Text] Yerevan—Never before in my journalistic years has news transmitted to the editorial office caused such pain. This is already the 5th month in which every report from the republic has concerned Nagorno-Karabakh or events around it.

The local press and television have not organized any constructive dialogue with the population. It is not surprising that those wishing to find out "the news" come to Theater Square. Here the tension sometimes falls, and sometimes, like a column of mercury at noon-day heat, jumps to a critical level.

Just a few days ago questions were raised at rallies attended by thousands of people, and the stagers of the rally most lamentably put those questions in the form of an ultimatum and called for a general strike.

It must be said that the question of whether or not to work concerned many people. This is something almost without precedent in our social life. All the same, since Monday morning some enterprises in the city have not been working. The situation was acutely aggravated

when, at the call of some irresponsible individuals, several thousand people made their way on foot toward Zvartnots Airport, intending to bring its work to a halt. Filling the air terminal complex, they effectively made it impossible for the airline personnel to carry out their functions. On the second day, when talks with the demonstrators failed, public order protection forces intervened to resolve the conflict. A clash ensued and there were several dozen casualties on both sides. Kh. Zakharyan, a 22-year-old from Yerevan, was seriously injured during an incident on Echmiadzinskiy Highway and later died in hospital.

How do the demonstration participants themselves explain what happened? I met some of them in the republic hospital, where they are continuing to receive medical care.

"What made you blockade the airport?" I asked 26-year-old V. Panosyan from the village of Byuravan in Artashatskiy Rayon.

"Some people tried to convince us that if the airport was closed, this would cause general dissatisfaction and our demands would finally be heard "higher up."

"Are you so sure now that you did a sensible thing?"

"I now know for sure: It was a well-planned provocation. Somebody wanted us to clash with the law."

"Why didn't you obey, when you were warned and asked to leave the air terminal?"

"People say that we were warned, but I was sitting with many others on the first floor and I did not hear the radio announcement."

"But it is a fact. They also tried to persuade those who were standing around the air terminal."

"I realize that we were not right. But why was force used?"

"Many of the demonstrators themselves threw stones and bottles at representatives of the public order protection forces, and reciprocal measures were used against them...."

"You know, I would give anything to find out the name of the doctor or professor we have been talking about, whose word we believed...."

My other interlocutors said almost the same. The events have left a very distressing impression. Few people approve of the act of blockading the airport. In Theater Square we talked with S. Khachatryan, a student from the Yerevan Veterinary Science Institute:

"You will not deny that students have been some of the main active participants in the meetings in Theater Square over these 5 months. Yes, we are in favor of a just solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh question, and we are confident that there are sufficient legal means of resolving the conflict. We do not agree with those who took the action at the airport...."

As I am transmitting these lines, a funeral procession is proceeding through the city. The funeral of Kh. Zakharyan is taking place. Who will answer for these senseless casualties? It is time to heed the voice of reason.

Dead Youth Buried

AU0707131088 Paris AFP in English 1252 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, July 7 (AFP)—An Armenian youth shot dead by internal security troops Tuesday, after soldiers evacuated Yerevan airport occupied by Armenian nationalists, was buried Thursday at a funeral ceremony attended by thousands of people, an official from the local news agency ARMENPRESS said.

The journalist had earlier told AFP that the burial of the youth, Kharchig Zakaryan, would take place Friday. Mr. Zakaryan died in hospital from a bullet wound in the head. He was shot as he and a group of Armenians tried to force through a roadblock erected at the entrance to the airport.

According to official Soviet media, 36 soldiers and Armenians were injured as the internal security forces Tuesday cleared the airport which had been paralysed by 3,000 Armenians seeking the transfer of the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia.

But Armenian sources said that more than 60 people were injured. [passage omitted]

Minister's Briefing Canceled

LD0707140288 Hamburg DPA in German 1248 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—Even following the latest riots and mass unrest in Yerevan, the foreign minister of the Soviet Republic of Armenia regards "demonstrations as a part of our life." Anatoliy Mkrtchyan, visiting Bonn on Thursday, expressed complete backing for Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of perestroika. In this sense, demonstrations are even a mechanism for restructuring, Mkrtchyan said during his visits to the chancellor's office and the Foreign Ministry, where he explained the situation in his home country.

The foreign minister, who manages Armenia's foreign relations but who is subordinate in all questions of national foreign policy to the responsible Moscow minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, did not, however, want to face the public. His host, Hesse SPD Bundestag Deputy Dietrich Sperling, announced some days ago that a news

conference would be held in Bonn, but today, just a few hours beforehand, he canceled it. Following the worsening of the situation with the storming of the airport in Yerevan on Wednesday [as received] Mkrtchyan no longer wished to reply to press questions. He had, after all, been traveling in the Federal Republic for a week, it was said.

In Bonn he was received in the chancellor's office and in the Foreign Ministry by the head of the Political Department. Mkrtchyan was invited by Sperling in the latter's capacity as president of the Society for the Promotion of Relations Between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union in order to discuss sister-city arrangements and closer cooperation between Hesse and Armenia.

In Hesse in the past few days, Mkrtchyan had spoken several times about the right of return of the Armenian minority in Nagorno-Karabakh, which lies in neighboring Azerbaijan. The partitioning can, in the final analysis, be traced back to the despotic rule of Stalin, said the Armenian minister.

Strike Reportedly 'Easing'

AU0807082288 Paris AFP in English 0815 GMT
8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 8 (AFP)—A general strike in the Armenian capital of Yerevan was easing slightly on Friday after a televised appeal for calm by the patriarch of the Armenian church, official sources in Yerevan said.

A journalist with the official news agency ARMENPRESS told AFP that rumours of a curfew had spread late Thursday as troops were patrolling throughout the city. But he denied that a curfew had been imposed and said that the internal security troops had withdrawn outside the city on Friday.

The ARMENPRESS official said that the metro in Yerevan was working normally—by charging passengers—for the first time since the nationalist strike began on Monday, and taxis and buses were beginning to resume service.

But he said that most firms in Yerevan were still on strike.

The official attributed the easing of tension in the city to the intervention by the Armenian Catholicos Vaghen I, who appealed to the Armenians Thursday night for calm.

The Armenians declared a three-day public mourning on Thursday for the victims of Tuesday's airport clashes with troops who had evacuated thousands of Armenians occupying the airport in a nationalist protest.

The coffins of Kharchig Zakaryan and Zhores Pogosyan were taken to Opera Square on Thursday evening for a mass funeral attended by more than 100,000 people, a witness told AFP.

Kharchig Zakaryan was shot during Tuesday's airport clashes, while according to unofficial Armenian sources Zhores Pogosyan died of a heart attack while marching to the airport. The ARMENPRESS journalist was unable to confirm the second death.

The latest unrest has been triggered by the Armenians' dissatisfaction with the lack of progress at last week's special Communist Party conference over the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh. The Armenians want the Armenian-dominated Azerbaijani region to be restored to Armenia.

Troop Withdrawal Demanded

LD0807093088 Hamburg DPA in German 0829 GMT
8 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—According to human rights circles, thousands of people this morning once more assembled in the theater square in Yerevan, the capital of the Soviet Republic of Armenia. The demonstrators called in the main for the removal of soldiers from the city.

It was also said that at least 200,000 people took part in yesterday's funeral of the student, Kharchig Zakaryan (22). A 54-year-old man who suffered a heart attack during Monday's demonstrations was also buried. The demands "Murderers out of Armenia," and "Perestroika Against Fascism" were carried on banners.

According to human rights circles, Armenian Premier Fadey Sarkisyan is reported to have stated on television that there had been three deaths during this week's clashes. The order to storm the airport had come from Moscow. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Demonstrations Against ELTA Reports

LD0107233388 Vilnius in English
to North America 2200 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] As we have reported earlier, the Vilnius public and the delegates to the 19th party conference in Moscow met on Friday [24 June] in Vilnius. This meeting was on a massive scale. At this meeting the public voiced many important proposals on the questions concerning restructuring in the political and economic spheres. The issues of more democracy and openness were also voiced. This meeting was organized by the Perestroika Movement.

The Lithuanian news agency ELTA reported on this meeting in Sunday press, but its official report did not satisfy our public. Our people were angered by the report's one-sidedness and subjectivism. That is why the Perestroika Movement initiative group staged a demonstration in front of the ELTA agency building. According to unconfirmed reports, some 1,000 protesters gathered there.

The philosopher Arvydas Juozaitis, Professor Vytautas Landsbergis, journalist Vitas Tomkus, and others declared dissatisfaction and mistrust over the agency's work. The protestors shouted; "Shame, Shame."

The memorandum to the ELTA agency was read aloud at this demonstration. The memorandum demands a new and objective report on the Friday meeting at the Gediminas Square. The agency's director, Antanas Stankevicius, partially accepted the memorandum and invited the activists of the Perestroyka Movement initiative group to cooperate.

Today's demonstration lasted some 40 minutes.

'Lithuanian Platform' on Theses, U.S. Recognition
LD2806110488 Vilnius in English to North America
 2200 GMT 24 Jun 88

[From "The Way We Live Magazine" program]

[Text] [Announcer] A month ago the Theses of the Soviet Communist Party were put forward for nationwide discussion. The Theses assess the results achieved by the perestroyka campaign, pointing to the obstacles that stand in the way and define the future steps which will be taken to democratize the Soviet society. Yesterday the national press in Lithuania published the most important suggestions and proposals made by members of the Lithuanian general public to the 19th party conference. In Lithuania about 500,000 people, both party and nonparty members took part in discussing the Theses and 1 in every 10 had the opportunity of speaking out publicly. All the proposals filed by the Lithuanian public have been carefully analyzed and generalized by Lithuania's leading political body, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party in close cooperation with the conference delegates. Although officially this term has not been used, the collection of proposals to the 19th party conference can be termed as the Lithuanian platform. Here to comment is Edvinas Butkus:

[Butkus] I, too, will use the term the Lithuanian platform, though regrettably it is not a draft project but a final document which to my mind is disputable. This became extremely clear after yesterday's meeting with several delegates to the party conference from Vilnius. Although I must admit that the most topical issues did indeed find their way into the Lithuanian platform, so according to it Lithuania seeks to achieve economic, cultural, and political sovereignty but this goal is worded in such a careful way that one gets the impression that we are afraid to hurt somebody's feelings.

But tell me, who on earth could be insulted if Lithuania, with its well-developed economic, cultural, and political ties, strengthened the commonwealth of Soviet nations while making use of these ties for its own prosperity? With this in mind, maybe after all there was no need to refrain from entering the suggestion, voiced by many,

that alongside Soviet nationality, the nationality of each union republic be restored. After all, this issue is a very important element in a country's sovereignty. Nevertheless, the platform includes a proposal that the Lithuanian language be declared the state language in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Lithuania, whereas this important issue seems to have been skipped over in silence in our 10-year-old Constitution.

On the other hand, how can a truly democratic country, something that both the Theses and the Lithuanian platform seeks to achieve, allow somebody from above to decide whether we in Lithuania can have Lithuanian declared the state language of our republic? If Lithuania becomes a sovereign socialist state in actual fact, I think that it could successfully resolve this and similar issues itself, on the basis of its own Constitution. Most likely, the fact that Stalin, the father of all nations, as he was once called, is resting in peace after his hard work has slipped out of somebody's minds.

Today we have got to realize that we and nobody else but we have to do the decision-making, and the future life we'll lead will depend on nobody else but ourselves and the way we manage to cope with our affairs now.

I think that some other statements formulated in the Lithuanian platform lack rationality. For example, one of the statements declares that more independence should be granted to each Soviet republic in issues dealing with national culture, education, and other areas of spiritual life. This of course is a very welcome idea and I think that it should be adopted at the party conference. But in close succession to this idea follows the proposal that the Lithuanian People's Education Ministry should take action to improve the teaching of the Lithuanian and Russian languages in Lithuanian schools. God Almighty! Isn't that a matter of our own concern! And after this really outrageously funny proposal comes something which is very significant for the entire Soviet Union, i.e. the doctrine of compulsory secondary education, the platform states, should be dropped as something unjustified. And as it points out here that it was namely compulsory secondary education together with some other social phenomena that pushed the Soviet educational system into the deep crisis it now finds itself in.

One could speak in great length and from all kinds and angles about the Lithuanian platform because the document is indeed disputable. Having in mind the limited space of time I would like nevertheless stop at one important point: "We suggest that the foreign department of the Soviet Government body seek all ways to ensure that the United States Government recognizes the Soviet Baltic republics."

Why the United States does not recognize the Soviet Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania after 48 years of existence and whether this position is grounded or not is different story. But the fact is that

with each year more and more Americans are coming to Lithuania both on business and as tourists. Likewise the number of Lithuanians traveling to the United States is increasing at dramatic rates. This is the reality and future prospects of this development seem to be promising. But what will change in our lives if all of a sudden the United States Government recognizes Lithuania as a sovereign socialist republic? Will our life really become better?

And what happens if one administration does decide to recognize it whereas the next dismisses the recognition act? Although I must admit at this point that the situation would be viewed differently if the United States Government took action out of its own accord to recognize the Soviet Baltic republics as sovereign. But, as I mentioned earlier, its up to us to achieve the sovereignty we so strive to have."

By this time my criticism, perhaps, will have raised the question in your mind: What was my personal contribution to the Lithuanian platform?

Well, I had the opportunity as everybody else to put forward a suggestion which I think is very important. After the conference is over, I said during one of meetings, we will assess reality on a set of new criteria endorsed at the conference. With this in mind I suggested that all the elected party bodies from rank-and-file level to the very top give full account its members on the basis of the newly worked out criteria. And should anybody fail to pass this test of democracy there should be a call for preliminary elections. In this way, I argued at the meeting, the fresh blood in the party apparatus would place the process of reconstruction or perestroika in full gear.

Unfortunately, as you might understand, my suggestion was not included into the Lithuanian platform. But I have a secret hope that some other delegation to the 19th party conference will put it forward or that this idea will come into being amidst the heated discussions in the Palace of Congresses at the conference.

Meanwhile the countdown has begun and there are only 4 days left before this important event takes place.

Yakovlev Reportedly To Replace Gromyko
JN0807083088 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic
6 Jul 88 p 1

[Text] AL-ITTIHAD has learned that Soviet President Andrey Gromyko will shortly quit his post and that all indications are that Yakovlev, right-hand man of Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev, will be the new head of state. Reliable Soviet sources told AL-ITTIHAD that Gromyko will continue to be Gorbachev's personal adviser on international issues, being one of the most veteran foreign ministers in the world. The sources, who declined to reveal their identity, said that Gromyko will quit his post in response to the desire of a great number

of party representatives that officials in the Politburo who have reached retirement age, whose ranks are led by the 82-year-old Gromyko, should resign.

Arbatov Praises Results of CPSU Conference
LD0707202988 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Our correspondent has interviewed Georgiy Arbatov, prominent Soviet scholar and public figure who is the director of the Institute of United States and Canadian Studies. Academician Arbatov is a member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. He was a delegate to the recent national Communist Party conference. And here's what Academician Arbatov said when asked to comment on the work of the conference:

Discussions at the party forum were heated and intensive. They concerned almost all spheres of Soviet life, Academician Arbatov said. This was a real model of democracy, a free and open comparison of views and outlooks. Questions were raised in an acute and principled manner. This greatly differs from what people of my generation got used to in the past.

With reference to the reform in the country's political system suggested at the conference, Academician Arbatov said obsolete political forms must be destroyed. Soviet society had to live for many years of its history in emergency conditions, such as a cruel war and economic devastation that followed it. That's why it almost could not use the democratic potential of socialism. Now it's essential to reinstate the elected government bodies, people's councils, in all their power. The conference called for restructuring them from the system of their election to the procedure of their work, to the institution of the office of executive president of the Supreme Soviet.

With reference to the conference's proposal to recommend to elect local party chiefs as chairmen of the local government bodies, Georgiy Arbatov emphasized that this would strengthen the role of the local councils with the party's prestige. On the other hand party chiefs in the posts of leaders of government bodies will be accountable to the people's deputies, and through them to the entire population.

Dr Arbatov said he had been concerned by disapproval of the press on the part of some speakers. We should always remember, he said, the hard lessons of the past, the lawless actions of Stalin's times, and the absurd ruinous decisions in the economy adopted without public discussion. All this was possible, among other reasons, because the country lacked openness and had an obedient press at the time. This is why, Dr Arbatov said, he had firmly voted for the conference resolution ruling out restrictions on the press criticism.

On the outcome of the conference, Dr Arbatov said it had highlighted a series of new issues. There were some controversial speeches at the conference. Dr Arbatov said he rejected some speeches which he thought ran counter to the ideas of restructuring. Still, this is also part of democracy. Every opinion must be heard. On making restructuring irreversible Dr Arbatov said the guarantees lay in the way the party members, and all Soviet people would work for renewal of society.

Asked about the significance of the 19th party conference, Dr Arbatov said it has solved many issues and outlined the ways of further development. The conference, he says, has been the most important internal event in the Communist Party and the country at large after the 27th congress of the party.

Readers React to Conference Speeches, Resolutions
PM0707135588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 7 Jul 88 p 1

[Article by G. Terekhova, Readers' Letters desk editor, under the rubric "From the Recent Mailbag": "By the Dictates of Conscience, With Total Dedication!"]

[Excerpts] Only a few hours after the conference began its work, our newspaper started receiving responses to it—we received many letters, cables, and telephone messages; readers called the editorial office to share their impressions of the report and individual speeches, and they joined battle with the speakers. The least element in these responses is that rapture with which letters to the editorial office used to open on similar occasions in the past. People speak openly and soberly, without concealing the questions arising, and at times their anxiety also. This is the best testimony that people are well aware of the entire responsibility of the time in which we are living. [passage omitted]

There can be no doubt that the main question discussed at the conference was that of the party's role as the political vanguard of society. It was raised in the report and it echoed in many of the speeches. It can be said without exaggeration that the letters from our editorial office mailbag on the party's role are the sharpest and the most impassioned. "Why is it," Muscovite Mayya Kolina writes, "that when bringing to light the excesses in the country's leadership and criticizing aspects of our former leaders' characters, there is absolutely no mention of the following detail: Where was the mighty Central Committee apparatus, why did nobody draw the party comrades' attention to their errors? Why is it that even now all our hopes (and this is echoed in the speeches by some delegates) are more often than not linked to M.S. Gorbachev's personality? We need structures which would render impossible any dependence on the ill or good will of the leader, on his intellect or incompetence."

The party's authority will be seriously tested in the conditions of glasnost and democratization, which will be further developed after the conference as a result of the reform of our political system. As M.S. Gorbachev said in the closing speech: "The party's leading role in the new conditions will be determined entirely by the real authority which has to be won anew every time by means of specific deeds."

It was of course the forthcoming reform of society's political system that generated the largest number of responses. Not all readers are unanimous on this point, their letters contain many doubts and much wavering... Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V.N. Lysenko, senior lecturer at the MAI [not further identified] Scientific Communism Department, deems it necessary to launch without any delay a discussion of the draft reform of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the electoral system, and to begin right away preparations for next spring's elections to the country's supreme organ. Readers assume that its authority will be backed by the authority of the party and its leaders. It all boils down to one thing: "Restructuring will result in the creation of a state of the people [boldface as published], in other words, a state belonging to the people, a state, moreover, where increasingly broad strata of the people will themselves act as bearers of state power." (Colonel, retired, A. Riotta, CPSU member since 1972, Rovno).

The determination to deepen the radical economic reform, which sounded both in the report to the conference and in the speeches, was welcomed by readers with great approval. The reform is still bogged down, and the main enemy here, in the opinion of most of those who wrote to us, is bureaucratism and the edict-based methods of economic management it preserves. "Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is right," Leningrader L. Kalmykova writes, "the 'fist' method of combating bureaucratism is ineffective. It is necessary to create such conditions in the economy as would simply leave no place for bureaucratism within it." But readers also express the following fear: Will the bureaucracy not derail the actual creation of such conditions? After all, it has managed to virtually "disarm" the Law on the State Enterprise. And how about the various obstacles erected by different departments in the path of leasing contracts and cooperative activity! Even speeches by conference delegates—V. Starodubtsev, V. Postnikov—make it clear that the really new and revolutionary changes are making their way across bureaucratic and departmental barriers only with help from the highest offices and at times from the general secretary himself. "Much was said at the conference about the braking mechanisms in the economy; virtually none of the speakers avoided this, but these were still general words and appeals. Where are the specific measures—precise, clear, with firm schedules for execution—on radical cutbacks in the apparatus, on the curtailment of its powers?" engineer N. Tyshchenko writes from the city of Mytishchi. [passage omitted]

Reader Calls for Public Discussion of Brezhnev
PM0507123988 Moscow NEDEL'YA in Russian No. 26,
27 Jun-3 Jul 88 (Signed to Press 29 Jun 88) p 3

[Reader's letter under general heading "Correspondence With Readers"]

[Text] The exposure of layers of organized crime, in which representatives of the higher echelons of power were also involved, casts a dark shadow over L.I. Brezhnev and his associates. It was in Brezhnev's time that a mafia managed to gather strength. At the same time, orders were presented to Brezhnev on many occasions and he was repeatedly awarded the highest distinctions.

I believe that it is necessary to organize a public discussion of the actions of L.I. Brezhnev and his associates. It is also necessary to officially take to task the officials who were always giving awards to Brezhnev.

I am convinced that one and the same person cannot under any circumstances be awarded the lofty title of Hero on several occasions since, in my profound belief, it is incumbent upon a hero to live up to the lofty title, awarded to him once, through practical deeds for the rest of his life.

The exposure of the mafia and the involvement of high-ranking officials gives food for thought. It is necessary to ensure that abuse of power is henceforth impossible.

Furthermore, it is necessary to conduct an urgent certification of party members, which should not be an "exchange of party documents" behind closed doors but the most proper, open [glasnoye] discussion of Communists with active participation by nonparty members.

I think that the decisions of the current party conference will help us to switch to the tracks of practical action. As things are, many people are under the impression that, in a little while, the press and Central Television will "complete" the process of restructuring and declare it complete, while we "down below" will not have even felt that it ever began. Like, for example, "Stalin's great 5-year plans," and even some of the post-Stalin ones.

Vladimir Galkin, physician, Petrozavodsk

Supreme Court Official Outlines Legal Reforms
LD0607141688 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—The essence of the legal reform to be implemented in the Soviet Union is not to start from the scratch in creating a socialist state committed to the rule of law, but to restructure drastically the existing legal institutes—the Ministry of the Interior, procuratorial bodies and courts.

"The aim of the legal reform is to achieve the absolute rule of law," Aleksandr Filatov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court with a forty-year record of work at judiciary bodies, has told TASS.

The Constitution of the Soviet Union proclaimed principles of the protection of the rights and liberties of citizens, but they were not always observed, Filatov said.

He called for a fundamental review of the activity of courts. The judiciary bodies needed glasnost, competitiveness implying equal attitude towards the prosecution and the defence, observance of the principle of "presumption of innocence" and preclusion of the slightest judiciary mistake.

Filatov said that 700 judges had been punished, up to dismissal, in 1987 for mistakes.

"Of great importance is the complete independence of the court which it often lacks," Filatov said. "Draft law on the status of judges of the USSR has been elaborated and is being analysed. The draft envisages criminal responsibility for officials who interfere in the work of the court.

The same document will probably provide for change in the length of service of people's judges—from five to ten years.

Draft principles of criminal legislation of the USSR and the union Republics were are [as received] drawn up. They envisage decriminalisation of many criminal offences that are transferred into the category of administrative offences, sharp reduction in the application of death penalty, abolition of banishment and exile and other changes."

Kondrashov Stresses Need for Party Glasnost
LD0107152288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 26, 26 Jun 88 p 11

[Stanislav Kondrashov article: "Shaping a Party for the People"]

[Text] I'll start with something which, as I see it, is not spoken about, and which it is not customary to mention. It is unclear to practically all Party members, and the more so, to non-Party members, how, in March 1985, the Politburo dealt with the question of whom to recommend as General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee after Chernenko's death. At the time, the information leaked that, besides the candidature of Mikhail Gorbachev, that of V. Grishin was also discussed. V. Grishin was a Politburo member and first secretary of the Moscow city party committee since 1967; he had a poor reputation among Muscovites, and only certain people, fortunately, not the majority, were prepared to give him their support.

I'm not interested in joking about the rumours, nor do I just want to say that the Party was not informed about the details of a most important decision. I'm mentioning this, above all, in order to ask what would have happened if a small body of people (only 10-12 people) had made a different choice? It would have been approved by the Central Committee, which, I believe, has never gone against a Politbureau decision since Lenin. And we would have the continuation and deepening of stagnation - no perestroika, no glasnost. Those responsible for the present-day stormy rebirth of life would have slid further into hopelessness. We'd have the same old unity of opinion, no differences, no dissent or doing away with "the blank spots" in our history. Pluralism would remain just another foreign swearword.

We must speak out and not make believe that everything is determined before and is going on as expected. No, we advocates of perestroika are very lucky. Against the background of what used to be, what happened in March 1985, what is happening now is more of an accident than a law, an exception from the rule that operated for decades. Even though enough of our people have literally earned perestroika through pain, and even though a Communist is not supposed to believe in miracles - a miracle did happen. I'm speaking not only about the elections of the General Secretary but of the turn in the historical process. The complete inertia of movement accumulated in the years of stagnation, and before, and a large if not a greater part of the cadres selected during these decades - led us to a quagmire of a crisis - with a people who were not allowed to grumble and a Party whose leaders at all levels were accountable not to the people but to their superiors.

In order not to count on miracles, and to get to the stage where we can make a rule of the exception, we perhaps need another 70 years of a humane anti-Stalin, a highly cultured anti-Khrushchev and an active anti-Brezhnev. Many years are needed for the call - the more democracy, the more socialism - to become not just a slogan, but our flesh and blood. We must change political genetics and develop real, not shop-window, accountability of government to people.

Democracy excludes regimes of personal power and the cult syndrome, the one that cost us millions of human lives, and the one that, though not blood-thirsty (the man, they say, was kind), was vain and gold-loving, starting off with declarations against voluntarism and for the scientific-technological revolution, and ending in more technological backwardness vis-a-vis the West, in our lives being sold to bureaucrats, embezzlement of state funds, and a situation in which, four decades after the war, we are still unable to feed ourselves properly in our vast country.

Let's not fool ourselves: each time, the system which had been created was taken to its logical conclusion, with the highest leader in the Party giving, as it were, his own image to the communist idea - with all that that entailed.

Mayakovsky said: "Lenin and the Party are the closest kin; name one and you can't but imply the other." And then what? Well, obviously: "We say Party, we imply Stalin", "We say Party, we imply Khrushchev", "We say Party, we imply Brezhnev." Those who didn't "imply", as a rule, didn't get a good post. The principle of strict selection worked at all levels of the cult - Republican, regional and district. How many dignified people became a surplus, living through the ages-old Russian drama - woe from wit, talent and honour!

Now we say Party and imply, at long last, radical perestroika, reform of the political system, and development of the Party's role in social life along the lines of stable democracy, excluding the possibility of anyone assuming excessive personal power. This, as I see it, is the main historic task of the Party Conference and its delegates. The Party is indebted to the people, and the best way of paying back the debt is by changing the political system and setting up a genuinely legal socialist state. Since 1917 the Party has taken upon itself, and bears to this day, the responsibility for this great country and people, and we, its members, cannot play around with the destinies of millions and with decades of history.

The proposals for democratic elections to posts in party committees, put forward in the CPSU Central Committee Theses, as well as for limited terms in office for those elected to posts, point to a way of ensuring ourselves against a repetition of what was. But if adopted, they could nonetheless remain declarations that may be abolished at any moment, if the party leaders and those near them keep in their hands the tremendous power they have today - the right to appoint and to remove, to execute and to pardon, secretly, without being accountable to the party and people. This right also includes appointment to state posts, which, as far as I know, is not detailed in any legislation, but which does exist in fact - belonging to the concept of party subordination and discipline.

The Theses exclude "direct instructions" from party committees to state and economic organs and public organizations. But what about the notion of party discipline adhered to by the representatives of these organs and organizations? How, for example, does the demand to fulfil party discipline differ from a "direct instruction"? With the present level of inner-party democracy, the question "what is the official opinion?" still muzzles the expression of the will of the party masses and more or less automatically secures the result desired by the holder or passer-on of the "opinion".

In the USSR Constitution, the Communist Party is defined as the "leading and guiding force of Soviet society, and the nucleus of its political system, of all state organizations and public organizations". In a truly legal state, which we're aiming to create, this important provision needs to be given a precise, detailed and juridical decoding. The rights and duties of the party committees

and their secretaries must be determined by law. It should be decided what is within the range of their competence, what is outside it and how much responsibility they are to take if their decisions prove detrimental. The relevant texts must be widely published, maybe even pinned up in places where they can be best seen in party committee buildings, and rank-and-file communists must enjoy the right to control them.

To this day, the rank-and-file communist knows little about the work of this or that party organ and even less about the positions, views, manner and conditions of life of the members included in it. We are offered only the texts of resolutions, whereas inner-party life should always be lit up by the spotlights of perestroika (and not only on TV) and open to the winds of glasnost. The latter must not only be for Party members, but for non-Party members too. It is 1988, yet still it's hard to get rid of the closedness, to which the apparatus has become accustomed. Even 70 years after the revolution, even under perestroika, aren't the massive meetings in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk and Yaroslavl, where people protested against the undemocratic procedure of nominating the delegates to the party conference, seem to be evidence of this? We must remember that the Party exists not for itself but for the people, and the majority of them, over 90 per cent, are non-Party people.

Relations between the Party Organs and the soviets must be determined precisely. The Theses say that "not infrequently executive committees and officials employed by them usurp functions of the soviets". This usurpation is done on a greater scale by the party organs to whom the executive committees and their apparatus are subordinated. They impose their own decisions on the soviets. The press wrote about an incident where the party committees insisted on electing chairmen of executive committees from among people who were not even deputies to the given soviet. And, in general, according to the results of the many-year-long practice which has taken shape in our country, we must speak not of Soviet but of Party power. So, it is not by chance that we returning to Lenin's slogan - "All Power to the Soviets!" It is precisely the soviets that draw into democracy the overall majority of the population. A much greater number of non-Party members must be appointed to the jobs and posts, which, essentially, have become the monopoly and privilege of party members. This would clean the CPSU of the career seekers and timeservers who joined it for their own welfare rather than that of society.

The Theses pose the most important question of the "cardinal raising of the role of the supreme organ of power in the country" - the USSR Supreme Soviet. Socialist democracy could save itself from another personality cult through a system, established by law, of strict division of power - the executive - by the government, the legislative - by the Supreme Soviet, and the juridical - by the Supreme Court. In the Supreme Soviet special and constantly working commissions should be

set up to deal with the affairs of the armed forces, internal affairs and state security (like in the parliaments of many countries). Nothing should be put out of the control of the country's supreme legislative assembly. The idea was put forward that ministers, deputies and judges say a special oath, that officials take an oath of loyalty to the law - and only to the law, the highest-placed authority. And there must be no double morals. There should be no "party duty", "direct instruction", or "right granted by telephone", which could free a person of his or her duty to abide by the law.

And, finally, one other question. The Theses don't mention the party treasury, its size, how it is filled and how the membership fees are spent. Communists ask about this and have the right to be given a good answer. Glasnost should breathe into this field of party work, too.

CPSU's Portugalov Discusses Rate of Reform
AU0107092588 Vienna Television Service in German
2000 GMT 30 Jun 88

[Interview with Nikolay Portugalov, functionary of the CPSU Central Committee, by ORF correspondent Christian Schueller in Moscow on 30 June—video-recorded; Portugalov statements in German]

[Text] Today Christian Schueller, one of our two correspondents in Moscow, asked Central Committee functionary Nikolay Portugalov if Gorbachev would be able to hold the two wings in the CPSU together.

[Begin recording] [Portugalov] If the conservatives try to stop things... they are rather of the opinion that it is not necessary to press the gas pedal down so strongly. Apart from that, they are all in favor of restructuring, they are all for perestroika [Russian term used], profess it and admit sincerely that there is no alternative.

[Schueller] Last year criticism about the conception of history zeroed in on Stalin. One gets the impression that this criticism is continuing. The question is raised how far the party, the party of Lenin, was responsible for Stalinism.

[Portugalov] I know what you are aiming at: How far this is inherent in the system and how far Stalin or his immediate surroundings can be blamed for it. I would say one could talk a great deal much about Stalin's personality. Today it is not the time to calmly explain positive or objective reasons for Stalinist activities, Stalinist doings, so to say, with objective reflections. The time will come. It is our task to cope with the past. It must be spoken about.

[Schueller] Would not the next logical step be to permit groups within the party again, different platforms, as a means of implementing pluralism in the party?

[Portugalov] As you put it so well in German, also in television terminology: Objection, your Honor! Lenin was never in favor of groups, but he was for pluralism of opinions. We do not want to renounce democratic centralism. But it must be a centralism that is democratic and not a terrorist centralism as under Stalin.

What does democratic centralism mean? You are perfectly free to express your opinion and are not only not shot for doing so but you are not repressed at all, not even reprimanded. But if the majority takes a different decision, you, as a Communist within the framework of democratic centralism, have to stand by it and to translate that decision into reality.

[Schueller] We have heard today that there is pluralism in the party leadership. But the arguments in the party leadership take place behind closed doors and secretly. In spite of all the glasnost, one can only guess the tendencies there. Should this not take place more openly?

[Portugalov] Time will bring an answer, Mr Schueller. For it is like this: It is really ridiculous and enough to drive you mad if in this period of enormous structural changes of a world power, observers from all corners of the globe come and say at once: Why not very fast? Why not at once, at the latest? This is not possible. This is a period of tremendous reforms.

Just think of Luther, to take a historical example. Would you, like the envoy of the pope, come to Luther, who stood by the door of the church at Wittenberg where he had put up his theses? And the envoys came and said: "Brother Martin, can you bear the responsibility for this? Do you not fear pestilence, war, and unrest in the country?" He said: "I stand here and cannot do otherwise. God help me! Amen."

We are more or less in the same situation, in the initial stage. Give us time! There is really no alternative. [end recording]

Obkom Leaders Need To Earn Authority

PM2706143388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jun 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by A. Karpychev: "Crisis of Confidence? Reflections on the Dismissal of a Number of Officials"]

[Text] I can understand what a man who has suddenly been told to quit a high post must feel. And told by people, what is more... not from on high, not by Moscow, but by people who live in the same city, in the same oblast. Many of them he did not know personally, had never met. Many of them had not met him face to face either, but they knew him well by his speeches, his promises, his conduct. Personally, these people had nothing against him—he was just like others with his

sympathies and antipathies, merits, and shortcomings. However, they objected to him occupying the post, well, why not say it, of party obkom first secretary.

Five years ago it would have been difficult even to imagine something like this... the Number One had always been above criticism in his oblast. No, he did not ban criticism, he even advocated it. However... he was infallible, his opinion came first, it was never called into question aloud. And the fact that people were whispering their disagreement in dark corners, and even then looking over their shoulders, did not interest the Number One. There had, of course, been changes of obkom first secretaries before, however those which have taken place in recent months were very dissimilar to those that went before. They force people to think in the new way.

Let us return once more to the Sakhalin affair. What happened on the island? It was mentioned by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, replying to a question about the prospects of restructuring put by a foreign correspondent (during the summit): "A few days ago, for instance, there was a debate in Sakhalin which ended with the convocation of a party obkom plenum which discussed the views of working people and Communists. The plenum recognized their criticisms and demands as justified, deemed it necessary to strengthen the oblast party leadership, and adopted the decisions necessary to ensure that the process of democratization gathers momentum in Sakhalin. And so restructuring has reached even Sakhalin. However, it is spreading not only in scope but also in depth and penetrating all spheres."

As is known, the plenum complied with the request of party obkom first secretary P.I. Tretyakov and relieved him of his post.

This is probably the first time that a leader of this rank has handed in his resignation "at the request" of Communists and working people. What has happened has caused pain not just to him, but to all of us, I believe. At the editorial office there is a letter sent to PRAVDA on the instructions of the working people at a rally held at the drama theater in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk 21 May. The letter speaks of the undemocratic nature of the elections of delegates to the conference, about the "moral image of the first secretary being incompatible with the title of the highest-ranking leader." That rally was followed by a citywide rally. I have photographs from the scene on my desk. I have scrutinized them with much curiosity. Stereotype thinking on the lines that decent people do not attend rallies is, alas, still alive. However, the photographs show very ordinary people. They are in a good mood. They are sitting on a bench, someone is delivering a speech, the slogans above their heads read: We support restructuring. We support the policy of the party. However, they refused to support the local leadership any longer.

Calling a spade a spade, this could be described as a proper crisis of confidence in respect of the first secretary. The word "crisis" sounds somewhat strange in our ears, we have tried to avoid it for decades, or perhaps some people tried to hide it as far as possible from us, but let us not be afraid of the realities of life. It would be better and more useful to work out where this crisis came from and whether it could have been avoided?

V.I. Lenin, speaking at the 11th Party Congress about the need to switch to NEP [New Economic Policy], to learn to manage in the new conditions, warned: "I repeat, we have been granted deferment and credit by the people thanks to our correct policy and this—expressed in the language of the NEP—are promissory notes; however the terms are not stated on these notes and it is not possible to find out the date when they will have to be redeemed by consulting the text on the notes. This is where the danger lies, this is what distinguishes these political promissory notes from ordinary bills of exchange."

In Sakhalin too the "promissory notes" were presented by the people to the leader quite unexpectedly, and there was practically nothing to redeem them with.

People in our country understand everything, they see everything. But it is wrong to think that their patience is boundless.

If there is no improvement in cities and the countryside, if there are no positive changes, if people feel no concern for their well-being, they begin to lose confidence in the local leadership. I have read the letters received from Sakhalin Oblast at the editorial office. There are many complaints, especially about the provision of housing. The authors of the letters know that the housing problem cannot be resolved overnight. But they have no confidence that the situation will improve in the future.

Here are examples of these letters.

"Unless housing construction is accelerated," I read in one of them, "our family is unlikely to be allocated an apartment by the time we retire." "We came to Sakhalin as a family," S. Shulik from Vakhrushev settlement writes. "My husband works in the organizational and recruitment department of the 'Sakhalinugol' association motor transport base. We have a young child and have been allocated an old woodframe type house. It is not eligible for repairs. We have applied for help but were told that one-fifth of the population is in need of better accommodations. Many people live in dilapidated housing which is due for demolition. Why does the management give no thought to improving the housing conditions of its employees?"

I could cite other letters from Sakhalin describing local problems. Not to mention the fact that the island as such, by virtue of its location, demands special attention. After all, it is not the south coast of the Crimea or the Baltic region. However, people did not feel that their problems

were being tackled vigorously, from a new angle, and in the spirit of restructuring and therefore they expressed their lack of confidence in the first secretary.

This should be a serious lesson for many local leaders.

At approximately the same time L.A. Borodin, first secretary of the Astrakhan CPSU Obkom, was relieved of his post. Officially in connection with his retirement, but actually for shortcomings in his work. People in Astrakhan had also lost confidence in the first secretary. We at the editorial office are able to judge relatively accurately on the basis of our mail where "crises" are arising and why. As a rule, people in krays and oblasts display respect for the post of first secretary. But when their patience begins to run out, they write to PRAVDA. I remember that at one time critical letters kept arriving from Krasnodar Krai when Medunov was in power there. We passed the letters on to the party Central Committee where they kept vanishing without trace. Rumor had it that Medunov was able to call the very top and stick up for himself. Journalists remember the Astrakhan leadership as very tough when it came to... rejecting criticism. And now, finally, L.A. Borodin has been relieved. Although, according to people's opinion, it should have been done earlier. This is borne out by a roundup of letters compiled in our mail department. I will cite it in part:

"Readers in the oblast share the concern of the authors of the article 'The Lotus Is Wilting' published on 5 May this year and are citing the reasons for the hampered development of glasnost and democracy. The considerable lag of the social sphere and the ecological situation come in for much criticism from the readers. Here are a number of excerpts from letters received in May."

"Despite the criticism published in PRAVDA, the party obkom continues to use obsolete methods in its work... The question arises how much longer people like L.A. Borodin will remain at the helm in the oblast? The responsibility of the long-standing first secretary for reducing Astrakhan City and Oblast to a state which will take many a year to rectify is considerable. I. Oleynikov."

"In our city people stand in line every morning waiting for cutlets at 10 kopecks a piece to arrive. Deliveries are small. Dairy products, vegetables, and fruit are delivered in limited quantities and are of poor quality. V. Vostokova."

"The speech of F.D. Golikov, Astrakhan fish industry higher technical educational establishment party committee secretary, at the party obkom plenum was honest and outspoken. However, what was the reaction of those who took the floor straight after him? Most of them were obkom bureau members. One would like to ask those 'champions' of obsolete methods: What are you talking about, comrades? One thing is clear: Unless the Central Committee heeds the voice of the inhabitants of Astrakhan, there will be no genuine restructuring in our oblast. Some 204 signatures follow."

"Thank you. With the assistance of the editorial office we were able to secure a place for our children in the kindergarten. We have four of them. As for housing, it is better not mentioned. We live like pigs (6 people in one room of 13 square meters). And not just for a year or two, but 14 years. I have been working since I was 15, I have yet to see the good life. Therefore I do not believe in social justice. Restructuring is now under way in the country, but here, in Astrakhan, the stagnation continues. Perekalov."

"In 1987 the first installation of the gas complex went into operation. Our settlement is located 7 km away. Due to emissions of sulphurous gas, both children and adults have been falling ill. Our hospital is old and poorly equipped, and the young doctor cannot cope with the great number of patients. In the stores there are no products to build up the sick. On 2 May we dispatched five children in a serious condition, suffering from breathing difficulties, to the city. D. Shumakayeva, Stepnoy settlement, Krasnoyarskiy Rayon."

These are the sort of letters we receive. People may say, you cannot blame the first secretary for the 10 kopeck cutlets, he is a political figure. I agree, you cannot. But on the other hand no one can convince me that all this does not concern the first secretary. The highest form of politics in our country is concern for people. The first secretary is accountable for everything: For bread, for salt, for cutlets, and for restructuring in general. And the tally of pluses and minuses in respect of the first secretary is also simple: If the stores remain empty, if there is no proper order in the distribution of housing, if in winter apartments are constantly cold, and if people in administrative offices continue to treat you with polite indifference, it means that all is not well in the "house" of the first secretary in respect of the cadres on whom he relies. And he as the Number One is first in line when it comes to answerability to Communists and the working people. He is answerable, among other things, for what has already been achieved during the years of restructuring, and the emerging positive changes in resolving the problems about which people are concerned.

I have had occasion in the past to meet a number of first secretaries and to hear my colleagues' assessments of them. They reacted positively, for instance, to P.M. Masherov, and not just in Belorussia. People liked him. And what is more, for some reason these sympathies were extended to his original profession as a teacher. When you think about, you are bound to realize that there are not enough humanitarians in top level posts. In Maritime Kray people remember V.Y. Chernyshev, a former partisan and Hero of the Soviet Union. They say that he was able to stand up for his region even when his neighbors, fulfilling orders from above, were depleting their storehouses to the last grain and putting their oblasts on starvation rations.

However, during the times of stagnation first secretaries were much more frequently referred to as "apanage prince," "governor-general," or "the boss." They

included clever and astute people, and people who merely put on airs. One of them, when he wanted a cigarette, would ring the bell and his secretary would come running into the office where we were sitting with a pack of Marlboro cigarettes. It emerged that he was trying to cut down on smoking. Another would rudely interrupt the speaker in front of a hundred people from the presidium bench of a party-economic aktiv and ask him using the familiar form: "Who taught you to calculate the harvest like this?" A third would try to "inflate" his importance by having photographs from the newspaper's archives featuring him together with party leaders visiting the oblast published in the local press, treating the efforts of a toady editor responsible for this with condescension. And the rubric, unless I am mistaken, read: "A retrospective."

You cannot but smile looking at all this fuss around sham prestige. What for?

Trust and prestige (not to mention love) do not come of their own accord even if you are photographed on Red Square every day. They have to be earned. We are perfectly aware of this, and yet some people still cling to the old stereotype, believing that it is precisely a leading post which makes people more beautiful, clever, and even more talented than others. Well, it does not happen. You do not change from one day to another, and as for the new experience, that comes later. But there was another facet to this: As soon as a man had been appointed, before he had achieved anything in his new post, he automatically acquired the right to become a deputy, a candidate, or to receive a higher award on the occasion of a jubilee than in his old post. This made dull-witted people believe that they were exceptional. For many years the post of first secretary in Yaroslavl Oblast was occupied by F. Loshchenkov. What are the memories of him? At the insistence of the working people he was deprived of his delegate mandate to the party conference.

Restructuring is changing the role of posts today and reaffirming an old truth: It is man who adorns a post, not the other way around. And this is good. Restructuring needs the power of prestige. How can this be earned? It is not for me to preach the truths and hand out advice. These are furnished by life, by the lessons which it is teaching us. But I would like to repeat some readers' views: In order to earn trust it is necessary for everyone to work for the cause, from worker to minister and politburo member. It is necessary to work, correcting possible mistakes, and work and work again for the sake of achieving the aims of restructuring. Together with the people. And not forgetting that political promissory notes, as distinct from commercial ones, are handed in for redemption without warning. And this applies above all to party committees and those who head them.

Let us not claim arrogantly (as some people do) that some of us have emerged from April 1985, and the rest from the period of stagnation. We all bear the burden of

the past, and we are all learning to live in the new way. As we all know, leading cadres have been given the opportunity to show themselves in the cause of restructuring. Judging by appearances, the 3 years of restructuring have revealed that not everyone has passed the test. Especially when it comes to specific achievements, concrete results.

We have many acute problems today and there is no getting away from them since they are to do with the way people feel. They are being tackled, but tackled in different ways. We know, for instance, that there are certain changes for the better in the supply of foodstuffs in Belgorod, Orel, and a number of other oblasts. But when you read about it, you ask yourself why there are no similar positive changes in other regions. Or at least in neighboring oblasts? Is it because people are still relying on the center? Is it because of the old attitude of dependence? This question is aimed at first secretaries. Experience indicates that they should learn, that they should make use of all reserves and potential in their oblast or kray and they will have achieved restructuring, they will have achieved the practical cause which we are fighting for. If you are the Number One, you also bear the greatest responsibility. Responsibility for the way people live.

The burden shouldered by first secretaries is not a light one, I would say it is heavy. Let us help them with criticism, but not with criticism after the damage has been done but with preventive criticism, straight to their face, principled, bold, party criticism. Then there will be fewer "crises" of confidence.

And a final thought: Not everyone is fit to be a first secretary, but not everyone who has been elected has enough courage to admit this. I do not know, perhaps there have been cases where people who were offered the post declined the offer. But I will never believe that all were equally ready for this post or equally worthy of it.

Doubts About Restructuring Examined in New Book
PM0707103788 Moscow NEDEL'YA in Russian No. 26,
27 Jun-3 Jul (Signed to Press 29 Jun 88) pp 5, 6

[Article by Leonid Batkin under the rubric "A Topical Book": "From Skepticism to Hope"—first three paragraphs are NEDEL'YA introduction; italicized passages as published]

[Text] On the eve of the 19th all-union party conference, the "Progress" Publishing House has just published the book "There Is No Other Way" (Inogo Ne Dano). This is a new generation political book, born of the time of restructuring. Its authors—well-known sociologists, historians, and prose and current affairs writers—openly and freely discuss the most important problems of modern Soviet society's life.

According to the afterword by the publishing house, "all authors who responded to our request are united by sincere interest in the success of restructuring, by the desire that is near and dear to us all to expose and eliminate today, right away, the numerous braking factors which are maintained by the skilled and still powerful bureaucratic system."

NEDEL'YA offers its readers an extract from the article "Resumption of History" by Doctor of Historical Sciences L.M. Batkin—an interesting and profound work on current affairs, polemically sharp, somewhat arguable, but offering a vivid impression of the sentiments of broad circles of the intelligentsia.

There were times when trains traveled at slow speeds and were subject to long delays at stations. Passengers were used to long waits at yet another unprepossessing halt. When the train suddenly showed signs of moving, those inside could not immediately believe it. Maybe the car floor was starting to vibrate beneath their feet. On the other hand, maybe not. They would look out of the window. Could it be the train alongside was no longer stationary, could it be that one was sliding past while we stayed where we were? Until all the signs of clearly faster rocking, clicking tracks, and scenery flashing by the window proved beyond all argument: We are on our way.

In the same way, millions of people, without noticing any special signs of movement at their plants, in kolkhozes or institutes, in offices and stores, are anxiously looking out of windows covered in thick dust, listening for clicks on the tracks, trying to figure out whether they might be on their way. The bulk of every conversation nowadays boils down to this: Is it likely that, in the foreseeable future, something in our country will change *profoundly*, right down to the roots, because the situation is such that *otherwise we will not end up with even modest improvements*.

It is a great misfortune that we do not have anything like the Gallup Institute and that nobody has sufficiently reliable and independent data from sociological polls which, month in and month out, would prove the dynamics of Soviet men's and women's attitudes toward and opinions of the prospects of restructuring. I can judge by modest personal impressions, and primarily about the intelligentsia. I ask questions of friends who have opportunities that I lack to come in contact with and observe other social segments. I chat to taxi drivers or neighbors, I listen to reactions in waiting lines, I get involved in arguments around the dining table. And I have to admit that I, with my *somber optimism* (I will attempt to reveal the meaning of this formula further on), am usually the odd man out. My interlocutors would be only too pleased to agree, but they see no grounds for even this somewhat strange and cautious optimism.

And yet I live only a few subway stations away from Staraya Ploshchad in Moscow, the epicenter of the restructuring earthquake. I assume that, had I been

living in the Moscow suburbs—let alone some city in the Urals, a settlement near Pskov, or an Armenian or Moldavian village—my optimism would have generated even more perplexity....

The country's population pass judgment on the basis of the omnipotence of local bosses and their interference in anything and everything, but especially on the basis of the state of shelves in the stores to which they have access. And, as everyone knows, they are as empty as ever. I recently met some people I know from Sverdlovsk, and they showed me the pale yellow coupons of food ration cards. There is an authorized person on every block to distribute them. Some 800 grams of boiled sausage each month. I think 400 grams of butter. And 2 kg of meat a year—for the May and October holidays. Some Sundays there are not even noodles or groats to be had—they are bought up by the villagers.

For the time being it is better not to talk to these people about restructuring....

They believe nothing but tangible results. But unless the millions are actively involved in the political struggle, there will be no results to be had. It is a vicious circle.

The same circle exists at school or trust level: Workers see that the director and his associates are firmly in place, or that the new administrators are of the same ilk. People say nothing, they get tired after one or two stormy but useless meetings, they are full of skepticism, and this of course helps to confirm their skepticism.

As for members of the intelligentsia, it is easy to notice seasonal fluctuations between a certain euphoria and depression. Everyone's heart started beating faster in the spring of 1985, but already by the summer they were watching the television screen with the customary absentmindedness, while by the fall they were smiling disbelievingly at predictions that we were on the eve of a genuine thaw which was, of course, greatly different from Khrushchev's.

But in the spring of 1986 the party congress compelled people "to study the material" out of pure interest rather than in compliance with official instructions—for the first time in 2 decades. But the fall was once again slow and cheerless.

It was only in January 1987 that we saw the first outburst of serious hopes and the start of serious debates!

Life did not become better, life became more cheerful. Newspaper articles were stunning. Journal subscribers started pulling out of their mail boxes things that they would not even have whispered about quite recently. Millions of Soviet readers, comfortably seated in their armchairs or sofas, or in full view of everyone on the subway, were engrossed in reading matter which would have come within the scope of Article 190 of the RSFSR Criminal Code 3 years earlier. Meetings were being held

everywhere; all our lives we had dozed through them and just raised our hands; but it suddenly became clear that nobody had the slightest idea of what a complex thing a meeting could turn out to be if those assembled there, despite the routine and confident methods used by the local establishment, wanted to achieve something, maybe modest, but real.

Nevertheless, in the fall of 1987 and despite the bold and positive foreign policy developments, alarm, disappointment, and dismay spread again among the supporters of our glasnost and restructuring. For some reason the fall is an altogether unsuccessful season in our political calendar.... Some mystery there.

My interlocutors: "Well, there you are, glasnost has not passed the test." "Too early to say," I would reply. "We'll see," I would utter enigmatically, looking aside. "Doesn't it look as if it is all coming to an end?" "No way! Everything is still to come." "Your optimism is not confirmed by events." "Why not? I did qualify it, saying that it was 'somber.' This means at least that we will have to build up enough endurance for an entire historical epoch."

And what are attitudes now, in the spring of 1988?

I am no economist, and I shall hardly touch the decisive sphere—the restructuring of production relations. But there are some factors which are increasingly frequently admitted in the press albeit, in my view, without sufficient clarity.

The independence of state enterprises is, for the time being, doomed to remain on paper, just a declaration. It is clearly incompatible with the very existence of ministries. No matter how much ministries' activity is improved, no matter how much they are reorganized, amalgamated, and so on—the only way out is to abolish them altogether. In my view, the only sensible form of superstructure above enterprises is possibly their voluntary commercial association in state trusts *accountable to them* (and not the other way around!) and taking on functions which individual plants find it either unprofitable or impossible to perform. The Law on the Enterprise which has come into force is just a first experimental and incomplete step which, even though it is in the right direction, will not be enough to guarantee restructuring.

Agriculture, despite all the party decisions, continues to be entangled in idiotic regulations from above. Peasants are still not their own masters. This is how it was, this, alas, is how it is, and this is how it will be unless.... This is not at all because there are idiots at the top; it is because if someone *up there* "is responsible" for the harvest and honestly earns his salary doing just that, this someone—even if he were a Solomon, which is by no means always the case—can do nothing but issue "directives" which, because they come from above, from afar, from outside, inevitably appear *absurd by definition*.

For as long as peasants are really *dependent* on agro-industrial committees and raykoms which are also liable to be taken to task, the latter *willy-nilly have to* thoroughly investigate what is being sown, when, and in what quantities, who should be appointed chairman, and so on. This is why the food situation in the country will not improve for as long as there are official institutions responsible for the muzhiks; until such time as all kolkhozes and sovkhozes which do nothing but incur losses are disbanded; until such time as what is delicately styled the "family contract" turns into a vigorous small-peasantry sector of the economy *directly* tied to the state through tax in kind and bank credits, through long-term economic leasing, and without having to support kolkhoz, sovkhoz, and other offices; briefly speaking, the country's food situation will not improve until such time as we revert to the multifaceted forms of peasant cooperatives studied in the past by A.V. Chayanov and his colleagues from the nonexistent "Laboring Peasants Party" who ended up being shot—forms which Lenin had in mind in his famous suppressed article.

Meanwhile, our own experience in 1922-1926 and the experience of modern China shows that it is *only in farming* that the most radical positive progress from a low starting point within just a few years—without extraordinary capital investment or a technological revolution, merely through reform of the land ownership and land utilization system—is possible. A combination of rich kolkhozes and sovkhozes free from all tutelage, and a sizable small-peasantry sector with a flexible and voluntary, even though only partial, cooperative system could produce all the food the country needs. And such a tangible and *very swift* improvement would render the course of restructuring invincible.

There is probably no need to add that the authorization of individual and cooperative activity, for example, will not produce any serious effect for the same debilitating reason. (In addition to a good law, it is necessary to do away with the unlawful omnipotence of and interference by "official institutions.") Or that pricing reform is necessary but extremely difficult within the framework of the administrative system, even if it could be confined to the strictly economic sphere. Without this it will turn into a change of *prices and not of the pricing mechanism*; in other words it will fail. This reform is absolutely necessary but it is extremely dangerous politically, since it could become the best possible gift to the enemies of restructuring.

We are still far from market socialism.

I have not said a single original word, I am only touching on topics which are on the minds of us all, from the Politburo to every family, trying to guess what will happen tomorrow.

M.S. Gorbachev was correct in asserting that we have entered the decisive stage of the transformations which we have undertaken. I think that this is not because they

are already under way: The radical and main decisions are yet to be made, they are, let's hope, still to come, they are unavoidable. But the stage through which we have been living since 1987 is decisive because it is actually leading up to them. In other words, we are in the thick of political choice. Now we are *about* to start. Or about not to start. Much as regards the fate of our country and the whole world will become clearer in the next 2-3 years. Specifically, and whatever happens: *The stability of the actual vector of change*. Even though the consistent implementation of a world-historic turnaround would of course require not just 2-3 years, but nothing less than 2-3 decades.

At this most crucial time it is all the more important to frankly take stock and publicly admit (Lenin was skilled in doing this kind of thing) that—given the growing bureaucratic resistance—the policy of restructuring still lacks a truly broad social base. The vast bulk of people are fed up with the bosses, they are dreadfully tired of the confusion among officialdom, the crush on the buses, the shortages, the waiting lines, and... words.

Novel words have an effect for as long as and to the extent that the measure of truth in them gives the impression that they are *not just words*. But if, with the passage of time, it becomes clear that they are nothing but words, that even after truthful words have been spoken life still remains the same as when the words were false, people start disbelieving truthful propaganda in exactly the same way as false propaganda, and the interest in this secondary difference disappears. Add to this some even slight exaggerations (since exaggeration of the already *slightly* improved state of affairs represents a considerable and psychologically more than understandable temptation for any leader of this really Sisyphean labor), and the slogans of restructuring become even more irritating than the old slogans.

This is because people are not indifferent. The indifference fueled by jokes has been or is being replaced by a desire to do something, a disbelieving longing, a disturbing hope.

Restructuring lacks broad and specific support, but this does not mean that, in principle, such support may not emerge tomorrow.

After all, this support is lacking not in the sense that the people have no sympathy for the ultimate goals of restructuring, that they have no desire for change. It is lacking in the sense that there is still no mass *readiness to act* with what is of course, like in any other action, the inevitable *risk*. Very many (although, as usual, not all but at least the active minority) are prepared to run risks (with the battlefield being primarily *their own* institution). And this without waiting for success to be guaranteed, when there is no need for boldness; in other words they are prepared to actually run the risk of being defeated. However, in order to join in the fray they need

confidence that success is perfectly possible... and that at least *guaranteed defeat* is no longer likely. And that is all, from the social and psychological viewpoint.

The chronic fear is making itself felt: "Those who are dissatisfied will speak up, stand up, be placed in the spotlight, and then be taken care of." Actually, the fear is noticeably evaporating. People are talking frankly. But apathy is much stronger than fear.

We have lived through a period when history seemed to stand still. There appeared on the screen the face of an unintellectual, old, and very sick man, stumbling over what he was reading from his piece of paper. Watching the television, the whole country apathetically exchanged impressions of *how* bad he was; how he looked slightly older than a month earlier, how he stumbled even over words which he had managed to utter previously. And these growing signs of senile infirmity were the only clear signs of continuity in the historical process in a great country. *Nothing happened* apart from this. Politics ended up being entirely a medical problem.

Seriously speaking, however, politics had disappeared from our society's life since the late twenties, even though the events which took place at that time were far more than the normal human imagination and mind could cope with. Politics disappeared as a *specific* contemporary sphere of human activity where the differences in class and group interests are displayed and clash with each other, where there is direct public comparison of positions, and where methods are sought to bring them to some dynamic compromise.

Politics disappeared—and thus *everything became "political."* Any scientific views, no longer in the humanities alone but soon also in agronomy, linguistics, information science, physics, and biology; the intonation and style of the spoken and written word; forms of leisure, aesthetic tastes, intimate life, divorce with the wife, upbringing of children, manner of dress, and so on. And of course, your circle of acquaintances or range of reading matter. Political opposition was perceived in intellectual curiosity or in leanings toward irony and also, on the other hand, in excessive ingeniousness, loyalty to friends and relatives, an enhanced sense of dignity, and, finally, simple independence of character. The entire normal flow of human life was transformed into an "uncontrollable subtext." This of course dealt an immense blow to the USSR's true prosperity, interests, and security.

It was not under Stalin, but within the memory of today's adolescents that anyone who just "called for mercy on the fallen," let alone anyone who "glorified freedom," was not only immediately proclaimed to be *not* beloved by the people but actually had to prepare for the worst. This is what it is like, our poor beloved

motherland, where we are now witnessing the slow and difficult return of *politics*, without which not only socialism but anything at all cannot exist.

The main condition of restructuring is the return of real and open politics to replace the ritual, absurdist, rhinocerotie pseudopolitics.

...Now, overhearing those who "do not believe," realizing that they have most serious arguments, and without disputing these arguments, I would take the liberty to first of all remind people of what we used to talk about around the dining tables before 1982, before 1985. "Won't it be even worse after Brezhnev?" "Yes indeed, we'll live to regret his passing." "They'll look for a way out of the blind alley by turning the screws even tighter." "Is another 1937 possible?" This is what we argued about until quite recently....

Let us admit that even the most incorrigible optimists would not have dared to prophesy what we have gained in 3 years. Events have had their ups and downs, but generally speaking they have far outstripped sober forecasts and even daring hopes. We are not yet talking about positive structural changes, of course. We are actually talking about the chain of events of restructuring, the necessary preliminary changes in the psychological climate, the major and minor facts which show that we have not only returned to the atmosphere of the 20th and 22d congresses but have moved on from there.

Therefore, let us begin with something which everyone can accept, with a most simple statement: Dynamism is taking shape in society, *something is happening* all the time, and I am sure that things will continue to happen. Surely all ordinary people must be pleased with this. Our train is actually moving, even though it will be held up at many more stations. Very well, "don't believe." But just do something, for heaven's sake, do what you consider necessary to benefit restructuring. You don't feel comfortable, you have doubts about *this* chance? Fine. Actually there is no point in arguing. You may be right. But history has been resumed, and we have been invited to participate in it.

There will be no other chance.

I am a historian, and I realize that this had to happen but I and my contemporaries might not have lived to see it. Many actually did not. They either died or emigrated. History is often not interested in trivia like 10 or 20 years more or less. On the other hand, while the Stalin system was exterminating people in their millions, people like Bohr, Wiener, Watson, and Crick were at work. While the Brezhnev system was reducing our country to a state of mediocrity, the world was developing lasers and personal computers and witnessing the explosion of the postindustrial revolution. In fact history never stopped. Oh Marx, oh genius! Oh, how other people's productive forces have developed, and now we need to bring our own production relations in line with them!

History never stops, not for a single moment, like a river with its rapids and reaches. But those who stand and gape and just sail with the current can capsize or end up on a sandbank. "History has been resumed" means that we are off the sandbank and on our way, on our way... look out, watch out for the snags and rapids coming up ahead.

An acute political struggle for and against the "thaw" is still going on, and it would be extremely dangerous to believe that it has been irreversibly won. But *at the same time* an incomparably more profound historical struggle is being joined—for structural restructuring. Both stages are dramatically intertwined. The first is not yet over, but the center of gravity is shifting more and more toward the second stage, and this second stage is the subject of arguments in 1988, this is the stage in which some people "do not believe" while others are furiously against it. If the second stage is unnecessarily delayed, this will raise doubts about the first, about the course toward democracy in principle! If the first stage—glasnost and political, ideological, historical, theoretical, and legal de-Stalinization—is not most decisively completed, the second stage will never materialize.

In other words, unless there is a profound restructuring primarily of the party itself, and consequently of the economy and of the whole society, even what has been achieved so far will be precarious, it might be taken away. But restructuring is hindered by the fact that little, very little has been achieved. M.S. Gorbachev never tires of reminding us about this, noting that we are just at the beginning of our path. All those who are hoping to live yet in a rich, free, and fair society never tire of reminding M.S. Gorbachev and his comrades about this. To live not under "real socialism," but under socialism.

It was easier to tell in the report to the 20th congress (hitherto unpublished and, as a matter of fact, I would like to know who has specifically banned it?) the far from complete truth about the bloody tyrant, to release the surviving victims from the camps, and to permit the publication of "Terkin in the Other World" and "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," it was easier for Khrushchev, despite all the historic enormity of this step, to abolish the terror, than it is now to finalize the de-Stalinization, in other words to democratize the system itself by sweeping away its Stalinist bureaucratic elements, schemes, and habits. Without diminishing the importance of the thaw in the sixties, we all realize that Khrushchev just skimmed the surface and this was no obstacle to the neo-Stalinist reaction. But now we are getting down to the roots.

It is about *them* that we are arguing, not about the so-called liberalization which is already indisputable. Let us take a practical paradox into account. The wait-and-see attitude and the mistrust in restructuring are directly proportional to the actual scale of the changes which have already been implemented in the country's political and psychological climate. In other words, many do not

believe in restructuring precisely because the thaw has progressed further than it was possible to imagine in the boldest and most colorful dreams in 1985; and it has enabled us, on the basis of our bitter experience of the backlash in the sixties and seventies, to move on to a different level of problem.

Marxism Institute Roundtable on Restructuring
PM2306135188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jun 88 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report on CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism "Roundtable" Discussion under the "Discussion Platform" rubric: "Party and Restructuring"—first three paragraphs are, respectively, reader's letter and PRAVDA introduction; boldface as published]

[Text] "Many items which are now being published on ways of developing our society defend the need to implement Lenin's propositions and behests, although previously we were always assured that we were proceeding along a Leninist path. For me personally there is much that remains unclear with regard to what the party's true role was during the years of the personality cult and stagnation and whether it should change its face—its structure, style, and methods of work—under the conditions of restructuring. After all, it is no secret that in prerestructuring times, so to speak, many rogues and careerists penetrated the party and many by no means good deeds were done in its name. In this connection in my view the forthcoming party conference should discuss the question of the role of the social sciences. How long will the crowd of social scientists approve only retroactively what is now recognized and what may be rejected only tomorrow? Where is living thought?"

[Signed] I. Leontyev, engineer with 25 years' experience, nonparty person. Kharkov.

This letter arrived at the editorial office after a "roundtable" had been held at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism on the topic "Political Vanguard of Society Under the Conditions of the Second Stage of Restructuring." Today we publish a few speeches by its participants. The strict framework of the newspaper page obliges us to give them in abridged form but we hope that I. Leontyev of Kharkov and other readers will feel that the social scientists' discussion was creative, keen, and sufficiently fruitful.

The "roundtable" was chaired by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V.P. Kuzmin, first deputy director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Taking part in the talk were G.K. Kryuchkov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department; N.I. Lapin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Doctors of Philosophical Sciences E.A. Bagramov, A.G. Zdravomyslov, F.F. Petrenko, and B.F. Slavin; Doctor of

Historical Sciences Yu.K. Malov; E.A. Ambartsumov, deputy chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System; V.V. Sazonov, G.V. Vyshinskiy, and T.V. Porfiryeva, senior scientific staffers at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism; Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V.Ye. Khmelko; A.I. Gelman, secretary of the USSR Union of Cinematographers; and other comrades, over 30 people in all. The Association of Political Sciences took part in organizing the "roundtable."

Authority of the Vanguard [subhead]

V. Kuzmin: The process of the in-depth, qualitative restructuring of our society compels us to take a new look at the problem of the political vanguard's activity. This is particularly important under the conditions of preparation for the 19th all-union party conference.

Life demands the deployment of a new avenue of scientific research aimed at studying the party's activity in the context of the life of socialist society, studying its self awareness and society's perception of it and an analysis of real interaction between all social forces taken as a whole within the system. Formerly we simply did not study much of this. Much is being accomplished before our eyes and makes up the growth which restructuring is already providing today.

For instance, take the democratization of public life. Traditionally social scientists viewed, in their works, problems of democratization primarily on the plane of the party's leadership of this process. Now, together with this, questions of the party's interaction with the soviets, trade unions, creative unions, science, and so forth are becoming increasingly topical. And we have begun to study more attentively and more profoundly the specific ways of expanding forms and procedures for their joint activity as partners in the process of social management.

The party is living through a very emotional period of its history. In this situation we must clearly distinguish where the essence of the processes lies and where there are superficial phenomena, where there is deformation, and where the fundamental bases are.

Our initial and principled position is that the communist party in a socialist society, consistently guided by and actively developing the theory of Marxism-Leninism, is the champion of the program of communist building. V.I. Lenin frequently stressed that the role of the leading fighter can only be fulfilled by a party armed with leading theory. We have such a revolutionary theory—Leninism and the theory of restructuring. In this we find today a guideline for correct action and a consistent struggle for the cause of socialism and communism.

The party's leading role in society under the conditions of restructuring is undoubtedly growing—and not only in the sense of a general historical trend which was most frequently talked about before. This role is now growing

in fact, in a specific, effective way. The party's main task now is the consolidation of all social forces on the platform of restructuring. And it would be particularly wrong to apply the thesis of the existence of "enemies of restructuring." Unanimity has formed in our party on the subject of the general tasks of restructuring although there is now doubt that opinions and viewpoints differ regarding its methods and pace.

Under the conditions of the developing diversity of opinions the party should define more precisely the criteria for the socialist content of the changes taking place. We are in favor of the renewal of socialism but against deviation away from socialism and away from the gains which have been achieved.

It is from this viewpoint that it is proposed to discuss the next range of questions: concerning the party's leading role and the enhancement of its authority, Lenin's concept of socialism and the ideology of restructuring, problems of intraparty democracy and the party's functions under the conditions of restructuring.

A. Zdravomyslov: There can be no talk of the party's vanguard role without raising its prestige. Our party's authority in popular opinion now rests on the fact that it is the party which has acted as the initiator of restructuring. But this authority is distributed far from evenly to all echelons, organizations, and structures of the party. There are points where it is as it were concentrated and others where it is still low because the relevant party organizations or leading organs have not joined in restructuring properly.

The years of stagnation could not fail to be reflected in the state of intraparty relations and during that time the party's authority did not increase but declined. Although verbally, in theory, things looked quite the opposite. Our entire press was full of phrases of this sort.

What were the main reasons for the decline in authority?

First, rushing ahead in setting tasks and goals, insufficient realism in assessing opportunities, which was manifested particularly graphically in the concept of developed socialism. Any promises give rise to people's hopes and expectations. And for a while these expectations act as a positive factor which rallies society. But the nonfulfillment of plans is all the more dangerous on the sociopsychological plane. Disappointment ensues which of itself acts as a factor alienating the masses from the previously proclaimed goals. This dialectic of the transformation of hope into disappointment should be analyzed. During restructuring we should pursue a very circumspect policy from this viewpoint. It is better to promise less but deliver more. Then this will work to increase the party's authority.

The second reason: the flabbiness of political action. The violation of the measure of correlation between the dynamism and stability of social processes, a complacent

attitude toward power which is the basis of abuses. Other negative factors include dogmatism, emphasis on ideology's protective functions, a renunciation of the study and analysis of interests. In addition there were errors in cadre policy, the removal from vigorous social activity of enterprising people who knew how to defend their positions and views and the promotion to the fore of "averagers-down" who are most afraid of conflict situations and want to reconcile one and all, guided only by immediate considerations. As a rule under these conditions guile prevailed over intelligence and lack of talent over talent.

Well, of course the bureaucratization of part of the party and state apparatus and the corruption which grew up on this soil undermined the party's authority. It may be said that during the years of stagnation our party was frequently in the position of a self-satisfied political force. V.I. Lenin saw a special danger in this and warned against it.

While paying tribute to the past, it is already time in my view to switch our social sciences' attention to the present day, to those problems by which our society is now living. The most essential process of restructuring is democratization. But even this process cannot be viewed as some kind of indiscernible current. It would be worth analyzing those contradictions which are connected with democratization.

One of the most fundamental contradictions in this process is, I think, the contradiction between mass participation and competence. The more complex the question then the fewer people, as a rule, who can understand its essence. But the narrower the range of specialists influencing the solution of a question, the less mass participation there is and the more restricted the circle of participants. Here there should be trust in specialists and in their competence on the part of the masses. In brief, we should avoid two extremes—pseudodemocracy which is geared to the thesis that "the collective is always right" and elitism, when the opinion of the masses and the broad public is ignored.

Ye. Ambartsumov: Was the party's role really a vanguard one at various stages of our historical development? I have serious doubts on this score. I think that in the thirties Stalin crushed the party underfoot. The party did far from everything necessary from the viewpoint of its main function—expressing the interests of the people, the working class, and the peasantry. My viewpoint is that Stalin's and Lenin's understandings of the party were profoundly different, even contradictory. Stalin's statements about how the party should be in some respects like an "order of sword bearers" are well known. This, incidentally, was merely a reiteration of Trotsky's idea that the party must be like a caste of samurai in which faithfulness and loyalty and discipline are independent values. For Lenin the party was a voluntary alliance of fellow thinkers rallied by the unity of deed.

Stalin succeeded in implementing his concept of the party in practice and in this process the mechanism of repressions played a special part. Under Stalin's leadership the party became a silent [bezglasnyy] organization largely divorced from the people's needs.

Within the party there formed a certain confrontation between the apparatus and the mass of party members. Lenin's principle—that the apparatus is for the party and not the party for the apparatus—was violated. In this connection the question of the *nomenklatura* arises: Should it exist now, under the conditions of restructuring? The privileged position of the top echelons of the apparatus gives rise to corruption. In addition a special way of life—purely functional—leads to isolation, to the impossibility of perceiving on the basis of personal experience the problems, concerns, and needs by which the people live. Sometimes, when you are standing in line for food or shoes, you obtain far more information about social moods than you do from reading the works of some of our sociologists or theorists of scientific communism.

V. Kuzmin: I want to put two questions to Comrade Ambartsumov. In my opinion, when you assert that the party lost its vanguard role in the thirties, you are voluntarily or involuntarily underestimating the enormous amount of work which was performed by hundreds of thousands of rank and file Communists united in the primary party organizations. They gave all their efforts and their lives to building socialism. Did they not fulfill the role of society's vanguard?

And a second question: You counterpose the apparatus and the party too vehemently, in my opinion. Is that right?

Ye. Ambartsumov: You did not understand me entirely correctly. I do not deny the vanguard role of the party in our society in general. It was a case of a specific period with historical limits. I believe that Stalin, having physically destroyed Lenin's guard and also largely Lenin's enrollment into the party, achieved the party's deformation. The deformed party, attitudes in which no longer accorded with Lenin's ideas about it, could not fully implement its leading role in society. That in no case casts a shadow on the millions of honest Communists.

As for the question of the apparatus then I stand by my viewpoint. The apparatus now is largely divorced from the real life of the party organizations and society as a whole.

F. Petrenko: When we assess the party's activity in retrospect we rightly speak of its contribution to building socialism. But we must not forget either those irreparable errors and losses which were allowed. Surely the party has some relation to the emergence of the Stalin personality cult? The blame for the very grave consequences of this phenomenon alien to socialism and for the stagnation processes which arose in the period when

Brezhnev headed the Politburo largely also rests with the CPSU as the ruling party. It is unseemly for us Communists to act cunning and to pretend that the party has nothing to do with it.

It is true that the events of the twenties and thirties took such a turn that the party itself was hostage to the cult and the victim of the lawlessness which was perpetrated. Nonetheless the laws of political life are such that responsibility for policy is borne by the party which has assumed the burden of the country's leadership. Stern laws. But that is life. V.I. Lenin frequently stressed that "the party is responsible" both for its actions and for the actions of those whom it leads. In our sociopolitical life this interconnection is obvious. After all, the party occupies a place in the political system such that the solution of all fundamental questions of the country's domestic and international situation depends primarily on it, the party, as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and on its orientation, principledness, and courage, and the nature of its activity.

I believe that it will be more beneficial if we do not waste effort on apologetics for the "growth of the party's role" which has been alleged until recently but turn to a search of ways of creating a mechanism for ensuring the CPSU's vanguard role which could really ensure that the party can fulfill its ideological-theoretical, political, and organizational role in implementing restructuring.

Return to Lenin [subhead]

B. Slavin: In defining the party's role under the conditions of restructuring we should compile a clear idea of the features of the present stage of society's development.

Today there are at least several views of restructuring and consequently of socialism. The first, in my opinion most justified, viewpoint is directed toward the present and future. It views restructuring as a process conditioned primarily by urgent, vitally important requirements connected with socialism's self-development, by the demands of society's scientific-technical, social, and spiritual progress. With this approach restructuring presupposes the full restoration of Lenin's concept of socialism, its purging of bureaucratic and antihumanitarian deposits from the time of the personality cult and stagnation, and the elimination of the delaying mechanism and deformations of socialism.

The opposite understanding of restructuring is given by conservatively minded theorists. From their viewpoint restructuring should be regarded as a unique "amendment" or "adjustment" to socialism. In their opinion the word "revolution" is entirely inapplicable to the development of socialism. We should speak not of the qualitative reworking of our society but only of its partial improvement, a kind of "cosmetic repair." In their understanding the slogan "More socialism" means "More commanding," "More uniformity." The conservatives view the denunciation of the personality cult and

the illegal repressions against Soviet people as an attempt to attack socialism and Marxism-Leninism. "They have begun with Stalin and they will end with Lenin and demand the restoration of capitalism," they declare. This is the viewpoint of today's mourners of socialism, frightened by restructuring, glasnost, and democracy. For them the future of socialism is its deformed past.

One more view of restructuring. Its supporters regard the revolutionary renewal of society only as the process of the restoration of socialism after the counterrevolution turn effected by Stalin. In many respects they understand restructuring as a return to the New Economic Policy era, where they claim the beginning and ending of Lenin's model of socialism lie. The fundamental difference between the modern era and the New Economic Policy era is not taken into account by the supporters of this view.

The two latter views of restructuring and socialism, despite their seeming polarity and even unique "antagonism," are in many ways identical. They are directed back to the past and identify Stalinism with socialism, in fact confuse the deformation of socialism and its nature. The thrust of the question is that Stalin in many ways distorted the idea of socialism and deformed the party and its policy, but he could not alter the socioeconomic nature of the new system.

Restructuring is designed to liberate socialism completely from the consequences of Stalinism but at the same time it does not come down to this alone. It is conditioned primarily by all the problems and realities of the present-day world.

N. Lapin: The process of building socialism has proved far more complex in practice than was supposed in theory. The cavalry charge method did not succeed in overcoming social alienation. Social alienation—including in the form of the abuse of power—is reproduced all the more blatantly the lower the level of a country's cultural and economic development at the initial point of the advance toward socialism. Immature early forms of socialism are a historical reality.

It would be wrong to fail to see the contradictions under present conditions too in analyzing the processes of restructuring. Since there are conservative forces, the possibility of reversal and regression remains. We should not return to the illusion of the irreversibility of the ascent from good to better.

The question of the scientifically justified and democratic method of wielding power remains a topical one for socialism. There are decisions which are momentous for the country but there are also decisions which can play the role of a "launch mechanism" in the unleashing of spontaneous processes.

Yu. Malov: I think that there is an urgent need to rethink the question of the party's true function in socialist society.

For instance, take the question of the party's functions in the form in which they are presented in our scientific literature. All these functions, as the majority of social scientists interpret them, have an absolutely specific one-sided orientation—only from the party to society—and essentially presuppose no feedback.

Another important question is that of the boundaries, the framework of party leadership. It is perfectly obvious today that without the precise definition of the legal limits of the party's activity it is simply impossible to speak seriously of the division between its functions and the functions of state and public organizations, the enhancement of the role and independence of the latter, and the substantial democratization of public life in general. In addition it is scarcely possible to count on the influence of appeals and exhortations alone being enough for the party apparatus, which for decades has deliberately accustomed itself to commanding and disposing, to be able one fine day to restructure itself fully and renounce its customary prerogatives.

That is why it is entirely expedient to pass a legislative act which would enshrine the division of functions of party and state organs.

And a last point. In connection with the development and intensification of socialist pluralism and the manifestation and activation of various informal associations and groups, the question inevitably arises of their registration and the party's attitude toward them and its mutual relations with them. Until recently we simply ignored the existence of specific interests in our society and the groups with these interests. Today we are faced with the task of actively involving them, alongside other mass organizations, in the process of restructuring and the solution of the creative tasks of socialist building.

G. Vyshinskiy: On both the theoretical and the practical plane it is extraordinarily important that the party should be freed from its apologetic view of itself. We need a sober view free from myths and legends, a view which presupposes in particular a recognition of the contradictions in the party's development and activity and of the objective possibility of differences within the party's ranks, an understanding of the dialectic nature of party unity, the renunciation of a dogmatic concept of monolithic unity which formalizes intraparty life, and the assertion of democratic discussion as a natural attribute of the party's organizational life.

Principled importance for the party's renewal attaches to the question of its functions. Under present-day conditions, when the pluralistic nature of socialist society—pluralistic from the viewpoint of interests—is already

obvious, the function of the recognition, synthesis, and integration of interests is promoted to the fore in the party's activity as political leader.

As for delimitations of the functions of party and state, that is essential. But it is scarcely realistic to effect it by constitutional and legal means, as some people have proposed here, inasmuch as the party is not only a political organization but also a political movement, whose sphere of action can be defined only by political means, not moral ones.

V. Khmelko: The leading, auditing, and mass information organs of every party organization must be placed in a position of equal dependence on each other and on the organization itself. This can be achieved if direct secret ballot on a competitive basis is used to elect not only each organization's party committee but also its auditing commission and the editorial collegium of the press organ of a given organization (giving the latter the status of organs of the organization, and not of its committee).

T. Porfiryeva: The renewal of mutual relations between the party and society is a very important element of restructuring. The main thing here is the reform of the political system. That is why it is particularly important to rely on the great and varied experience of other parties in the socialist countries.

According to the Laws of Conscience [subhead]

V. Sazonov: The party's vanguard role is inconceivable without the Communist's personal example. This can be felt very keenly among the people. It is a bad thing that we fail to personalize the question of the party's authority. It is very important to be concerned for the Communist's morality. It is no accident that Lenin's political behest pays so much attention to this. The ignoring of the Communist's moral stance has led to the flourishing of Rashidovshchina, Chubonovshchina, and Adylovshchina, which in turn has alienated the nonparty masses from Communists and the party.

A. Gelman: The party and morality, the party's policy after Lenin's death and morality, are a historical subject filled with drama, pain, and despair. They are a subject which requires study, analysis, and investigation and we must look into the matter exhaustively, to the end.

Where did the party begin? Not with its founders reading Marx. The party began with sympathy for, with compassion for the humble and the insulted. The party began with human indignation at the plight of the working classes and the majority of the people. The party grew from moral, humanitarian aspirations.

But after Lenin's death a misfortune occurred: Gradually the party, and especially its leadership, became alienated from general human, moral values, from its initial roots.

After the era of Stalinshchina the party made an attempt at purging, at returning to its moral sources. But it did not succeed in seeing the matter through.

Some 3 years ago the foundation was laid to a powerful new effort at self-purging—restructuring began. Much was done, but the delaying forces are great and they are growing and, I believe, will continue to grow.

Restructuring is proceeding in spurts. The last spurt was a very serious, very important one—it looks as though the party has had the courage to take an attentive, unhurried, thorough look at itself in the mirror. Will it have the courage, patience, and restraint to continue looking to the end, to the point of exhaustive clarity?

Here there is one in many respects determining element. As soon as we embark on self-analysis of our party history confusion grips us. We are gripped by fear: What if the consistent, objective analysis of the party's history leaves no opening? And we begin to seek a way out where there is not and cannot be any way out: We classify documents, hurl accusations of defamation, paint over the deficiencies which look as though they still can be painted over, describe Stalin as no more than a contradictory figure, and in the end state almost openly that there are, you know, more important things than the truth. That is we go round in circles.

Yet it seems to me that the situation is by no means hopeless. There is no need to rush about, to grow nervous, to offend and take offense, to continue to deceive and to be deceived.

It is simply necessary to take a normal, calm, unbiased look at the complex, dramatic, unrepeatable history of our party, the only history of its kind. Finally, we must see and acknowledge that although we have one party, its history since the death of Lenin has been split and has had not one single line but two lines of development which, although they interweave, do not merge. We must see that alongside Stalinshchina, alongside this direct betrayal of Lenin's moral principle, in the party there has also been—always has been, has been for all those years—a line loyal to Lenin, loyal to spiritual, human nobility. It is not simply a case of individual staunch people, of individual humanitarian episodes, it is a case of a historical line, a moral line in the history of our party. We simply have a poor knowledge of this aspect of our party's history, we have almost no knowledge of its heroes, the veritable saints of our party. And there are tens, hundreds, thousands of these people.

The spiritual and moral charge placed at the very origin of the birth of the party and while Lenin was alive promises us after a hard transitional period a new resurrection of the party's unity on the basis of a general human, moral constitution.

Of course, today we can only talk of this as the long term. But it is a realistic long term and essentially the only long term. Because if the processes of democratization are halted, if restructuring is jettisoned, moral death awaits our party, the party of Lenin. For our party this is a decisive restructuring, for our party there is no other way out but to see this restructuring through to full completion.

E. Bagramov: I believe that restructuring obliges every Communist to become imbued with the new thinking in the field of national relations as well. It is time to renounce the superficial and mechanical idea that the very fact that there are representatives of a number of nationalities in labor collectives is an indicator of internationalism. Multinationality is still not internationalism. Let those who doubt this assess soberly the events in Sumgait, which for many years was considered a city of exemplary international friendship.

G. Kryuchkov: There is a discrepancy between the growing number of party members and the weakness of party influence in many sectors of our activity. A certain devaluation of the title of party member is to be observed. In the 15 years between the 24th and 27th CPSU congresses over 9 million people were admitted to the party. Over the same period 1.1 million were expelled from the party. A further 600,000 people left the party for various reasons. In the 2 years since the 27th congress 327,000 people have been expelled from or left the party. That is 1.8 times more than in the preceding 2 years.

A mass of problems arises with the formation of the party's composition. How far should the party grow? How to regulate this process? How to preserve the class nature of the party? Every tenth adult, every ninth working citizen of the country now belongs to the party, as does every fifth engineer and technician, every fourth agricultural specialist, nearly every sixth teacher and doctor, over half of our writers, one-third of our composers and cinematographers, two-thirds of our journalists, 71 percent of our doctors of sciences and nearly 52 percent of our candidates of sciences. In the management apparatus the majority of workers are party members. And at the same time we can see that the level of party leadership of many spheres has declined.

The contradiction has intensified recently between the political nature of party leadership and the immoderately increased practice of excessive administration, commanding, prohibition, substitution, and duplication.

We have now come right up to the practice of the election of leading cadres. This has become an almost compulsory rule with regard to economic leaders. Appointment by election is part of the practice of party organs. Last year 909 party gorkom and raykom first secretaries were replaced and 120 of them were elected by secret ballot at party committee plenums from two or three or more candidates. The ice has moved, so to

speak. At the same time there are regions where not a single secretary was elected on an alternative basis and in some places they are not inclined to do this in future.

The problem of establishing limits to the terms in leading posts is now being actively discussed. It is important on a principled plane to consistently advance the program premise that leading posts in our country are not assigned to anyone permanently. But I think that it is not enough to restrict ourselves to setting limits: We need a mechanism, we need a system, whereby leaders within the limits of their powers, within the limit, so to speak, of the mandate given to them, periodically report to the collegiums and collectives which elected them with a compulsory assessment of their activity and practical conclusions, right up to relieving of their posts those who fail to justify trust and fail to back up restructuring.

Today cadres policy too should be built in an utterly different way. Diktat and the imposing of candidates from above on collectives and party organizations, especially if the recommended people are known to be unworthy, should be resolutely rejected.

But there is something else we must not forget. The political concept of the nomenklatura means essentially that the party and its organs keep some key posts in society within their purview. And the party probably will not and cannot abandon consciously directing this process. Are there in the world any political organizations which would exclude from their arsenal cadres policy as a lever for steering their course? It is another matter that the party should elaborate a mechanism whereby cadres questions would be resolved not by imposition, whereby any cadre decision would accord with the will of the given labor collective and party organization. Indeed, it is toward this that the efforts of our party are aimed, and that is the point of the decisions of its 27th congress and of the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum.

Leningrad 'Informal Organizations' Described
PM2406144088 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Jun 88 p 3

[Own correspondent Ye. Panov report: "'Delta' and Others; Notes on the Social Initiatives Movement"]

[Text] These notes make no claim to be complete or up-to-date. The front of the activity of Leningrad's informal organizations is broad, its limits are mobile, and its manifestations are diverse. Not a day goes by without something happening—try as you may, you simply cannot keep up with events. And one more observation: I am not going to make any assessments of the independent groups and their participants. An assessment duplicated in a million copies can become a stick in the hands of those who are accustomed to "lash out and not let go." As long as the legal basis for the activity of informal groups has not been defined, their status is unclear, and their existence is compromised, as

long as the fate of the movement depends entirely on the goodwill of the local authorities, it seems to me that only one principle is acceptable: Do nothing damaging.

The informal groups have a bad press. But what is written about is not the societies themselves or what they do, what they want and seek, but the misunderstandings and conflicts connected with them. And the reader concludes: Where there are informal groups, there is trouble.

The atmosphere around the Leningrad "Delta" society is in any case far from untroubled, and at the end of the winter it built up almost to storm pitch. The "Baltic-88" public ecological conference was thwarted. Guests from Riga and Ryazan, Tallinn and Gomel were already on board the trains when the organizers were refused premises. Then they tried another option.

"To Oktyabrskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies.

"I, P.V. Kozhevnikov, and a group of associates request permission to hold the "Baltic-88" forum on St Isaac's Square. The event will begin at 1000 hours and end at 1400 hours. The number of participants will be approximately 150. We make this request to hold the forum because we have been refused premises."

This was written on unorthodox paper in far from calligraphic handwriting. But the next day Kozhevnikov, leader of Delta, received a reply. "In connection with the fact that the USSR Geographical Society is prepared to make premises available in March," the impetuous deemed the open-air forum inexpedient. So they went straight to the Geographical Society. We'll meet you halfway, they were told there, but the auditorium is designed to 200 people, if there is even 1 more we will not allow him in.

Tough conditions were imposed for Delta. It looked as if they had deliberately been made impossible, with the aim of causing trouble... But it did not happen. Another place was found. Some 400 people assembled.

Let me quote extracts from my dictaphone notes.

My first interviewee was Doctor of Medical Sciences Z. Karayev.

[Panov] "Who invited you to the conference?"

[Karayev] "The party obkom told me to come. If any professional questions arise, I am to answer them."

[Panov] "What is your impression of the informal groups?"

[Karayev] "I had some impression of them before—from the television, radio, and press. I like it when a man has the right to speak the truth and demands something practical. But if the discussion moves into the sphere of

sensational rumors.... The way the questions are formulated at this forum is correct in many respects, but it should be backed up organizationally. So that there are some results."

My second interviewee was I. Gostev, secretary of Slantsy Komsomol Gorkom and Slantsy City Soviet deputy.

[Panov] "Are there any informal societies in Slantsy?"

[Gostev] "We have people who are involved in ecology in the city and rayon. Like the 'greens,' as they have been christened. The leader of their committee is a pensioner, a pediatrician. She was specially invited to a city soviet session and given the opportunity to express her views."

[Panov] "What do you expect from this conference?"

[Gostev] "Frankly—nothing. I do not understand its purpose. It is purely informational: Someone gets up, talks about some problem or other, and that is all."

My third interviewee was a collective.

"We are all from Leningrad, we are the conference guard. We are green hippies."

[Panov] "Is that something new?"

[Group] "Not all that new. We have been in existence for 6 months. And we regard ourselves as a fairly serious organization. We were the ones who protected the unique natural feature at Dontsy near Gatchina, and it is probably only thanks to us that there is anything left there."

[Panov] "Aren't you overestimating your services?"

[Group] "No. We have become a serious formation in the process of work. And we want to become even more serious."

[Panov] "Are all of you so young?"

[Group] "Yes, our upper age is about 22."

[Panov] "Are there many of you?"

[Group] "Forty-eight. Some are students, some work."

[Panov] "They call you an informal group. Does that worry you?"

[Group] "It doesn't worry us. An informal organization is any organization that does not belong to the Komsomol."

[Panov] "What do you expect from the conference?"

[Group] "New ties, new tasks."

Here a mocking voice breaks into the recording: "Aha, a representative of the communist gutter press!..." "Take no notice," the hippies apologized, "this man has already received a visa, he is already an emigre."

The "emigre" clearly wanted to cause trouble, but the hippies maintained a vigilant guard, and the conference ended successfully.

An extract from the resolution:

"After hearing and discussing more than 50 reports and speeches by scientists, experts, and representatives of public ecological societies, the forum resolved:

"...To pool the efforts of all Leningrad's creative groups and societies to seek a stop to the building of the barrage. To regard stopping it as an act analogous in scale and influence to the banning of the diversion of the northern rivers."

Who was closer to the truth: The doctor of sciences and the city soviet deputy who expected nothing from the forum, or the young 'greens' who expected much?... Of course, its resolution is not yet action, but it is more than words. It is backed up by an uncompromising position that differs sharply from the official position.

The official optimism that sanctifies the building of a range of installations to protect Leningrad from flooding is by no means shared by all the citizens, scientists, or experts. But only recently, simply to acknowledge that fact was impossible. The opponents of the barrage, the skeptics, even those who allowed themselves to doubt the seriousness of the drafting of the plan and the validity of the ecological prediction, had their mouths firmly closed.

Experts who had been squeezed out of the action grouped themselves around the independent society Delta, which emerged in April 1987. It was difficult and dangerous for any one of them to protest in isolation. They started talking together. The first public conference on the barrage took place in May of last year. After that there were several more forums. In the course of discussions proposals were drawn up by a group of social experts. These will give useful support to the commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which has at last decided to concern itself directly with the barrage.

Delta keeps a list of successful actions. I suppose the most important is the expansion of glasnost. Information on Lake Ladoga, the Neva, Neva Bay, and the eastern part of the Gulf of Finland is becoming available to the public. Hence it is easy to see who finds it in their interests to compromise the society's members and represent its activity in a disturbing light. The workers of the mighty "Lenmorzashchita" construction subunit, which exists for and because of the barrage, have an objective interest in this. And the designers. And the scientists who signed the expert report on the plan. And the staffers of

nature conservation departments who turn a blind eye to the alarming ecological situation in Leningrad. And finally, the city and oblast authorities, who are directly responsible for it.

That is not all: The expansion of glasnost means a victory, albeit small, for democracy, a victory achieved in the political struggle. P. Kozhevnikov confirms: Yes, Delta's activity is politically tinged. In what sense? Delta denies the bureaucracy the privilege of deciding for the people, under cover of their interests. Glasnost is glasnost. Down with the stamp "For Official Use Only" on ecological information: People have a right to know what kind of water they are drinking, what kind of air they are breathing. Down with secret departmental projects which threaten the health, perhaps the lives, of millions of people!...

Delta is not alone. The politicization of independent formations is increasing rapidly. A "Committee for the Democratization of Trade Unions" has appeared. The "Restructuring" interprofessional club is in operation. The subjects of debates to which everyone interested in democratic development is invited are "Production Self-Management," "Glasnost and the Press".... The political club "Adelaida" discusses the problem of the relationship between social and private ownership under socialism....

B. Rakitskiy, vice president of the Soviet Sociological Association, described the social initiatives movement as the first sign of the awakening of our society. True, in his view, the movement is still very diffuse, it needs really revolutionary slogans, and in order to develop these it is necessary to become involved in politics. And that is what is most feared by those who have arrogated to themselves the right to decide for the people in their name, those who are unwilling to give up bureaucratic secrecy. They have worked hard to give the informal societies if not actually an enemy image, at least an unattractive face.

The fact that this is so, was demonstrated by the interviews with I. Gostev and Z. Karayev, who are neutral on the whole. These interviews also showed that today you cannot shrug aside the informal groups so carelessly.

In the United States 10 million people take part in the social initiatives movement. I do not know how many there are in our country, but it is clearly far, far fewer. We are the overwhelming majority, they are a small handful. We belong to stable, official structures, from the labor collective to socialist society. They form unstable groups with strange names, they unite and break up. We come within the framework of a tradition that is calm to the point of passivity, they speak out at meetings about something risky... How should we relate to them? Are they with us, or not? Are they our people?

"Have we not let this process get out of control? Are we not conniving at the spread of harmful views?"—these questions were also asked at a Leningrad party obkom plenum.

Yes, accusations that the informal groups are undermining the foundations (pushing bourgeois ideology and anti-Sovietism), accusations of extremism and demagoguery (incompetence), are very widespread. How far are they justified?

Let us look at a document again—the Delta statutes.

"This ecological society is set up in the light of the ecological crisis with a view to promoting the safeguarding of the ecological purity of the natural environment of the city, the country, and the world. The ecological society is a voluntary social organization.

"Forms of work of the ecological society: 1, inspection of ecologically harmful sites, rayons, and territories; 2, collection and dissemination of information and other materials associated with the problem of damage to the environment; 3, drawing the attention of the public and official bodies to the problems of damage to the residential environment and ensuring glasnost concerning any nature conservation violations; 4, submission to administrative and judicial organs of proposals and actions aimed at restoring and maintaining the ecological purity of the natural environment; 5, organization of ecologically oriented publications, mass events, and seminars."

I do not know about you, reader, but I do not perceive here any hint of the undermining of foundations, extremism, or demagoguery. As for the first, attacks on privilege, exclusivity, and personal prosperity are often represented as undermining the foundations. This substitution has been studied in detail by investigative journalism. Extremism? The ecological society's program contains nothing impracticable or unlawful, on the contrary, the attack is directed against departmental instructions which have grown up around the law. Demagoguery, incompetence? Delta's social experts are serious scientists, the resolution of the "Baltic-88" forum was signed by four doctors and two candidates of sciences, and it will, as was stated, be useful to the USSR Academy of Sciences commission.

Having been to many of these meetings, I can testify that the "risky" issues raised at them are discussed far more keenly in the central press, and that is not deemed to be a manifestation of "harmful views" or "bourgeois ideology." Here they seize one another by the vest, show off with trenchant phrases, and sometimes shout down party workers who have come to lead the lost sheep back to the true path. That is bearable. What is worse is that the sincere ardor and willingness to act sometimes conceal political naivety and economic ignorance. But the time has not yet come for debates on a different level: There is no democratic tradition, a productive stratum of democratic culture has not yet been laid down.

"Remember Chernyshevskiy: A man must engage in social activity," engineer I. Pshenichnyy said to me at a session of the "Restructuring" club. "I don't want to leave this chaos to my children."

Pshenichnyy and his comrade V. Kireyev, a fitter, tried to organize a similar discussion club at their plant; they pinned up notices—two people came. So they come here from Pargolovo, sit at the back, and listen keenly. They are not members of the club, but they share its position. That position is clear and specific: There is at present no more urgent and attractive program in the country than the program proposed by the CPSU Central Committee.

But am I perhaps underestimating the dangers of harmful views? N. Larionov, party obkom instructor, who knows all or almost all there is to know about Leningrad's informal groups, has fears on this score. He believes that politickers are attaching themselves to a movement which is basically natural and useful and puts forward largely justified demands. These people are natural leaders, but failed leaders, people with ruined lives, people who are malicious and hostile. Pursuing selfish goals, they infiltrate independent societies and, playing on the enthusiasm, try to push their own program onto the informal groups, a program that is usually extremely vague and at the same time extremist.

I do not dispute that this danger really exists. But how can you distinguish those who are pulling "in the right direction" from those who are pulling "in the wrong direction"? Those who are with us from those who are against us?

"Experience will show who is who," Larionov answers succinctly.

Experience usually shows whatever we want—albeit subconsciously—to see. When you are talking about football, subjectivity is not such a terrible thing. When you are talking about the frail new shoots of democracy, it is intolerable.

It exists. "Any social activity that is conducted within the framework of the Constitution and is not contrary to the interests of the development of the Soviet socialist society merits recognition," say the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

With regard to the social initiatives movement, this Thesis could be clarified. In my view, in order to assess the "harmfulness" or "usefulness" of informal societies and their role and place in the current changes, you have to ask two questions: Whose interests does the group defend? What is its platform?

Shall we try it?... Whose interests, for instance, does the "Restructuring" club represent?

"The intelligentsia's," Larionov explained. "Mainly the scientific and technical intelligentsia. Engineers, economists."

"And Delta?"

"That is more difficult.... Let us say, citizens who are worried about the ecological situation and policy."

But those who are worried about that include the whole honest population of Leningrad, and therefore Delta is basically the city's alarm bell. And its platform is like an open palm: information, glasnost, legality. The "Restructuring" club's platform is also openly stated—the consolidation of all democratic forces.

These platforms suit me, reader. And not only me, I believe. Delta and the "Restructuring" club express my interests. And, I dare to hope, not only mine. The participants in the social initiatives movement are not some kind of social outcasts, but an active, selfless, and fearless section of society marching against the bureaucratic strongholds and drawing their fire.

So the informal groups are at least our equals. And we should not be "working with" them, manipulating them, trying to redirect them, but uniting on the basis of democratic principles for the sake of truly socialist goals. There is no other way: The movement cannot be banned or broken up, its participants cannot be intimidated or bought. And therefore persecutions, a gulf between formal and informal structures, a division into the "clean" and the "unclean" would be an unforgivable mistake. "We" are "they" and "they" are "us." Together, we are the supporters of restructuring.

Official Notes Shortcomings in Komsomol Work
LD2606183988 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT
26 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS—The results of the current perestroika (restructuring) process in the USSR in many respects depend on active attitude of Soviet young people, maintains Nikolay Dolgushkin, secretary of the Central Committee of the Leninist Komsomol (Young Communist League).

In an interview with TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov, he pointed out that young people in the Soviet Union accounted for a third of workers engaged in the country's economy and for every fifth specialist or manager. As many as 120,000 scientists are young people.

Practically not a single major economic task is tackled in the USSR without young people's participation. Nevertheless, Nikolay Dolgushkin said, the period of stagnation influenced the attitude to labour on the part of a certain segment of young people. According to the data of the scientific centre of the Higher Komsomol School, every tenth young worker does not cope with planned work quotas. Much is to be changed in the work of the Komsomol itself.

The secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee is of the opinion that formalism, inertness, and excessive reliance on organization are the main causes which undermined young people's trust in Komsomol. As a result of perestroika Komsomol should become a real force which is called upon to uphold first of all the interests of young people themselves. Komsomol organizations, on a par with directors of enterprises and trade union committees, have been granted the right to participate in deciding upon taking in or dismissing young workers and specialists, on assigning young people to educational establishments, and on providing young families with housing.

The secretary of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League pointed out that youth housing complexes are under construction in 200 cities of the Soviet Union. They are being built by more than 150,000 youths and girls. This will help in many respects to solve the housing program put forward by the 27th Congress of the CPSU: to provide every family with a self-contained apartment or a housing unit by the turn of the century.

Nikolay Dolgushkin recalled that a draft law of the USSR on the youth is being elaborated in the Soviet Union now. It is to accurately specify the rights of young people in the USSR and legislatively to secure the defence of these rights.

Ambartsumov on Rehabilitation of Stalin Victims
PM2306161688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 25, 19 Jun 88 p 10

[Yevgeniy Ambartsumov article: "The Poisonous Mist Disperses. Victims of the Moscow Trials Rehabilitated"]

[Text] One more step has been made in the hard but necessary (because it is healthy) process of de-Stalinization. The defendants in two big political trials of 1936 and 1937—Zinovyev-Kamenev and Pyatakov-Radek—have been rehabilitated.

Stalin's terror, with the aid of court falsifications, started much earlier, at the end of the 20s, with the "Shakhty" case and the "Prompartiya" trial, in which the old engineering intelligentsia was blamed for the natural failures in forced industrialization. The next victim was the Russian peasantry, subjected to a real genocide—between 5 and 10 million died—during forced collectivization in the early 30s. Stalin's third blow was dealt to the Party, to its old guard. The oppositioners were subjected to exile and imprisonment even before. But, as a result of the trials in the 30s, the most prominent leaders of the Party and the state, former members of the Politbureau and the Central Committee, Lenin's earliest comrades-in-arms whom he mentioned in his Testament, were sentenced to death.

Stalin ordered Yagoda to pin Korov's assassination on former oppositioners—the Trotskyites and members of the Zinovyev-Kamenev bloc. Some 300 oppositioners

were incarcerated in the cellars of Lubyanka in April 1935. The investigators were beating confessions out of them. By May, some 15 relatively convincing confessions had been obtained. Small wonder: Zakovskiy, Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, convicted of murder before the Revolution, liked to brag that he could have gotten Marx to say he'd worked for Bismark.

On Stalin's initiative the CPSU(b) Central Committee adopted on July 29, 1936, a month before the first trial, a secret instruction on the permissibility of using any method in the investigations of "spies, counter-revolutionaries, White Guards, Trotskyites, and Zinovyevites". Stalin said threateningly to the investigator Mironov: "Don't come to me without Kamenev's confession." Mironov soon shared Kamenev's fate. As did Zakovskiy.

A natural question arises: What did Stalin need all these trials and massacres for? All the former oppositioners, from Zinovyev and Kamenev to Bukharin and Rykov, publicly recognized their errors at the 17th Party Congress in 1934. Why was Radek, a talented journalist (even the prosecutor Vyshinskiy admitted this) who, with Bukharin, wrote the draft of the "Stalin Constitution", as well as articles praising Stalin as its "creator," doomed to death? Why shoot Pyatakov, the brilliant organizer of industry, who rejected the Trotsky opposition in the 20s?

Apparently so that no one would dare question the correctness of Stalin's way. And so that everyone would know that any vacillation, no matter how long ago, no matter if it was a temporary confusion under Lenin, any opposition under Stalin was punishable by death. They say that Stalin once remarked that he preferred to be supported out of fear, rather than out of conviction, because one's conviction could change. Did he know he was borrowing from the Roman emperor Caligula, the mad sadist who said: "Let them hate but be afraid of me"?

But Stalin was also afraid of any resistance, of any counteraction. Thus the defendants at both trials were charged with the greatest crime—sympathy with Moscow Party Secretary Ryutin's 1932 memorandum suggesting that Stalin be replaced at once. Ryutin's memorandum went on to call Stalin "the bad genius of the Russian Revolution, who, with his love of power and vengeance, has brought the Revolution to the brink of death". Thus the main defendant at the trial, in absentia, to Stalin's great dismay, was Trotsky, whom Stalin hated bitterly. Trotsky called Stalin the Revolution's gravedigger in 1926. (But when stepping up industrialization and forcing the peasants to join collective farms, Stalin followed Leftist conception, taking it to absurd lengths.)

Zinovyev, Kamenev and other defendants were principally charged with conspiring against Stalin and other Party and government leaders (including those who would be repressed later on). Subsequently, Stalin evidently realized that too much of a personal slant in the accusations would create a bad impression. At the Pyatakov-Radek trial the indictment had a different style: Trotsky and other oppositioners were accused of trying to overthrow Stalin and, to that end, conspiring with nazi Germany and militarist Japan, which they planned to pay with Soviet territories. Therefore, anyone who was against Stalin was a Trotskyite, i.e., an enemy of the people. Trotsky then living in Norway, couldn't believe his ears. How could he, a Jew and an anti-fascist, and his former supporters be accused of conspiring with the Gestapo? The nazi press interpreted this as a sly cover by Stalin for Trotsky's subversive activities. They thought Trotsky had been exiled for trying to ignite a world revolution.

Why, then, did the defendants confess? Ask those who still retain Stalinist illusions. Because many of the defendants had gone through tsarist and White Guard dungeons without giving up. The answer is provided, I think, by George Orwell, whose novel 1984 is soon to be published here. A torture can be found to break anyone, even the staunchest. Yet some, as if to contradict Orwell, resisted for a long time. Muralov, a hero of the Civil War, known for his valour, resisted for eight months. Because of that delay, he was tried in a later trial of the Right oppositioners even though he belonged to the Left, the Trotsky opposition.

The moral torture, the threats to do away with one's relatives, was worse than the physical torture. I. Smirnov, who defeated Kolchak (his candidature for the post of General Secretary was discussed even before Stalin's was), withstood everything until he met his wife and daughter in a jail corridor. He gave the necessary confessions on condition that his wife be treated not as a defendant but as a witness. Yagoda honoured the condition, but when he was arrested, he was charged with having done this to cover Smirnov.

Some managed to stand up to these threats. Even when Yezhov threatened to shoot Kamenev's son, Kamenev still refused to confess to the non-existent conspiracy. Then the torture began. Kamenev and Zinovyev agreed to sign the confession if Stalin, in the presence of the other Politbureau members, promised to leave them and their relatives alive. Mikhail Shatrov in his play "Onward, Onward, Onward" depicts such a meeting. In real life, it was attended only by Stalin, Voroshilov and Yezhov. There is some evidence that Stalin had similar meetings with Radek and Sokolnikov, promising to keep them alive in exchange for their confessions of conspiracy. They did receive "sentences" instead of being shot, but died in camps two years later. Radek was killed by non-political criminals and Sokolnikov under unknown circumstances.

A few defendants couldn't be broken. According to the protocols of the Pyatakov-Radek trial, 36 cases were being prepared for it, but there were only 19 people in the dock. Who were the others? Uglanov? Shlyapnikov? Smilga? Will we ever know the names of these who wouldn't break?

There was, and we can't strike it out, a definite social-psychological basis for the "cooperation" of the accused with the accusers. It was in the erosion of moral standards, of those unchanging values for all mankind, which we are addressing today. Could Zinovyev's struggle against Stalin have been a principled struggle if Zinovyev and Kamenev violated one of Lenin's last wishes and avoided removing Stalin from the post of General Secretary? If Zinovyev and Trotsky regarded their well-known ruthlessness during the Revolution as a sign of valour? They themselves put into operation the bone-crushing machine which crushed them. And what can be said about Pyatakov and Radek who, during the trial of Zinovyev and Kamenev, joined the general horrible choir demanding capital punishment? Valentinov (Volskiy), a Menshevik emigre, met his close friend Pyatakov in Paris in 1928 (just after the capitulation of the oppositioners) and charged Pyatakov with not having enough moral courage. Pyatakov claimed that real Bolsheviks lacked all limitations—moral, political and even physical. "A real Bolshevik," he added, "dissolves his personality in the Party collective so can reject any of his own approaches or decisions." How murderous and suicidal is the moral nihilism which was described as revolutionarism!

On the whole, the trials went "well." Practically all the defendants confessed to the most horrible crimes. This naturally made an impression. Lion Feuchtwanger wrote that when he read in the West about the first trial, it seemed to him that it was staged. But when he was in Moscow at the second trial, "my doubts dissolved like salt in water. If that was a falsification or a stage production, then I don't know what truth is". Still, and despite his three-hour talk with Stalin, he couldn't hide his surprise at how readily the defendants were confessing. He mentioned this in his book Moscow 1937. It was published here, too, but soon taken out of circulation. I reread it in the special (closed) archives from where it is now being transferred to the open archives.

Confessions are confessions, but even then the "make-up things" leapt to the eye. I. Smirnov was charged with taking part in the Trotsky-Zinovyev ring, which, judging by the indictment, appeared in 1932. But Smirnov was imprisoned at the beginning of the 30s along with other "people from the ring"—Mrachkovskiy and Ter-Vaganyan. At the trial, Vyshinskiy demanded that Smirnov confirm his confession that he took part in the ring. "What ring are you speaking about?" Smirnov asked ironically.

At the same trial, defendant Yevdokimov posed a rhetorical question: "Who'll believe a single word of ours?"

And Red Commissar Mrachkovskiy, a son and a grandson of workers, after telling how he came to the Revolution at 15, exclaimed sarcastically: "And here I am standing before you as a counter-revolutionary!" The judges and Vyshinskiy glanced at each other, but it was all right.

Radek, who was forced to name Bukharin, his close friend, among the plotters, at the same time gave Bukharin the idea of how to defend himself in his last words to the court. The whole trial said Radek, is based on "our confessions". Then he added, "If you're dealing with ordinary criminals and spies, on what do you base your conviction that what we have told you is truth, the real truth?"

There were some other failures. Goltsman, a defendant at the Zinovyev and Kameney trial, declared that he had gotten instructions from Lev Sedov, Trotsky's son, at the Bristol Hotel in Copenhagen. The Danish papers pointed out that the Bristol Hotel had been torn down in 1917.

At the 1937 trial, Pyatakov "confessed" that in December 1935 he met illegally with Trotsky in Norway. He had flown to Oslo from Berlin in a special plane provided by the nazis. The Norway papers wrote that not a single plane from Berlin had landed in Oslo that entire winter.

Stalin, the producer of the trial, and Vyshinskiy its director, didn't bother to hide their disregard for elementary legal proofs—and even boasted about it. "It is impossible to comply with such demands in cases of conspiracy," Vyshinsky declared at the Pyatakov-Radek trial. In the same speech, he addressed one of the defendants: "He's a German or Polish intelligence agent, but that he is an agent there can be no doubts." Such were the "grounds" for the charges.

Once you've read the trial materials and learned what was going on beyond the scenes, Shakespeare's tragedies look like children's stories. It is hard to imagine that these things happened not so long ago, in times you can remember.

Some think that the whole world believed the Moscow trials. That is wrong. Yes, Davies, the US ambassador, believed, and the German writer Feuchtwanger believed them by half. Apparently, he accepted the illogic of the trials the way other anti-fascists did: the violations of democracy were a lesser evil and the USSR was the only serious anti-fascist force so it could not be doubted. But many people abroad, including progressives, looked with horror and revulsion on the Moscow trials, and the then mania of sabotage. Andre Malraux and Andre Gide, outstanding French writers, left us and were vilified for doing so. Arthur Koestler, who intended to become a tractor driver at one of our machine-and-tractor stations, started to write *Darkness at Noon*, his novel about the

Moscow trials, which has yet to be published here. This awful impression caused the leaders of the 2nd International (held in Moscow) to accuse us of aiding fascism.

Satisfying his thirst for blood (Fazil Iskander has very precisely defined Stalin as a vampire), Stalin himself undermined the anti-fascist front then taking shape, and ignited the democratic West's mistrust for the USSR. Important reasons for our losses in 1941 and our multi-million casualties during the war are to be found in the trials of the 30s. The truth about these trials dispels the myth about Stalin which poisoned many of our generations.

Stalin Blamed for 1930's Famine in Ukraine
LD0307094388 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 2 Jul 88

[From the "Moscow Mailbag" program, presented by unidentified announcer, with Joe Adamov answering listeners' questions]

[Text] [Announcer] (J.R. Wonderly), of Silver City, Nevada, asked this question: Joe, what did Stalin do in the Ukraine in the early '30s?

[Adamov] Well, what took place in the Ukraine, you see, took place in other areas, too. This is the gist of it: Lenin believed in a voluntary entry into cooperative or collective farms. At that time, there were private farms. There was a temporary limited activity of private enterprise. That was Lenin's New Economic Policy.

Under Stalin, millions upon millions were declared kulaks, or rich farmers, which they were not, deported to Siberia with their families. The rest were herded into collective farms, where they were paid what amounted to water in a sieve. They had no pensions, no documents.

Between 1929 and '33, we lost 25 million head of cattle, 71 million sheep and goats. Famine followed in many areas, and I remember in the early '30s peasant women with bloated bodies from hunger sleeping in the lobby of our apartment house with small children. Those were the women who escaped from the famine-stricken areas. According to the estimates of our economists, possibly 20 million farmers and their families who were subjected to this crying injustice; many perished. [sentence as heard] This is how Stalin distorted Lenin's plan of cooperative farming.

TV Program Cites Poor Hospital Conditions

OW2906165988 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0025 GMT on 23 June broadcasts a 30-minute program called "I Want To Go Home". The program deals with the very poor conditions in pediatric and gynecological wards. It begins with shots of children

in an unnamed hospital waiting to be seen by a doctor, then cuts to shots of overcrowded conditions, crying children, and switches to shots of ambulance responding to a call.

The narrator says that because of the poor hospital conditions, parents are reluctant to heed advice of doctors and have their children hospitalized. Due to delayed hospitalization, "in Moscow alone, some 200 children die annually."

Video cuts to shots of an unidentified clinic where children are operated on and a parent is allowed to stay with the child before and after operation to reduce tension and trauma to the patient. However, this clinic has only eight beds. The narrator says that large hospitals are still operating under medieval conditions where parents are separated from the children and not allowed to visit them until well after the operation.

Video cuts to shots of a children's ward in a Chechen-Ingush ASSR. The narrator says that here, too, the mothers are not separated from their children but for different reasons. As the video shows an overcrowded ward with barely enough room to move, the narrator says that no mother would leave her child here unattended. He goes on to say that here there is not only no hot water, but not even running water has been supplied to the building. Camera focuses on dirty walls, rusty equipment. The narrator continues, saying that the only contagious children's ward in this city is situated right next to a very noisy cement production plant. He states that cross-infection is very common. Camera cuts to interview with a physician from the republic's Ministry of Health, who says that while in RSFSR prenatal deaths account for the largest number of fatalities, in Chechen this is not the case. Death due to intestinal infections and respiratory system diseases are the main cause of infant death.

The narrator then says that the USSR is behind underdeveloped countries in infant and childhood mortality. Part of the reason can simply be attributed to low funding—only 7 percent of medical expenditure is budgeted for child care. Video shows a half-completed children's hospital, with the narrator saying that there is no likelihood that it will be completed on time.

The narrator states that there seems to have developed a psychological approach in the country that stresses the importance of providing the best medical service to those who work, while those who are too old or too young to work are relegated to a lesser priority. Thus, individual enterprises will build hospitals for its workers but will make no allowances at all for providing better care for the children of the same workers. The low priority placed on pediatrics permeates the whole medical infrastructure of the USSR. To demonstrate this, a 1986 study showed that nearly one-third of all the doctors who have been assigned to pediatrics are those

who received unsatisfactory grades in their final medical examinations. These people ought not be allowed to practice medicine without supervision.

The program ends with the video cutting to a well-equipped, well-staffed hospital that functions well because of the support it received from local enterprises. Managers and physicians speak of the economy and the need to introduce drastic changes in child care in the USSR.

Zaykov Comments at Opening of Moscow Clinic
LD2506014088 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 24 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An inter-rayon diagnostic center opened in Moscow today.

[Correspondent N. Prokofyeva, identified by caption] It has been set up at the city polyclinic No 78 in Cherepushki. They have put together under one roof, as they say, virtually all the equipment needed to make a diagnosis promptly and accurately. Here one can be convinced of how electronics, physics, and modern-day engineering solutions are expanding the possibilities for today's doctor. The center will serve almost 3 million residents in 5 rayons in Moscow. Every day it will be able to receive 1,300 patients. The public health service organizers and doctors discussed this as they showed the new institution to Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov. [video shows women operating computer terminals, Zaykov and Chazov with a group of men and women, some in medical uniforms]

[Begin recording] [Chazov] What are we thinking? This is a new thing. There has been nothing like it to date in the Soviet health service. We think this will allow us to reduce the number of patients going into hospitals.

[Zaykov] Are you at full strength yet?

[Unidentified man] Not quite.

[Zaykov] Not quite there should be more than 300 people here, I believe.

[Unidentified man] Yes, yes, at first.

[Zaykov] Generally you need to take on as many specialists as are required. Second, if there are not enough specialists it is necessary to both train and to provide material incentives. If you do not operate the equipment over two shifts, and three shifts when necessary—even over three shifts—it will become obsolete. [end recording]

[Prokofyeva] The testing of vessels using ultrasound is now being carried out in one of the rooms. The inaudible sound transformed by the electronics into a graphic display gives exhaustive information to the specialists.

The most modern diagnostic facilities these days are computer scanners. Much has been written about the fact that there is not enough such technology in our country, even for major institutes and clinics. Now we see two computer scanners in an inter-rayon diagnostic enter. This means they have become accessible to the practical medical service.

It is true that most of the equipment has been bought abroad. Unfortunately, Soviet medical equipment does not meet world standards today and the point at issue was the need to set up its production. The improvement of diagnostics during the prehospital period—and this is envisaged by the basic guidelines for restructuring public health—will make it possible to enhance the standard of medical aid.

This year 14 major diagnostic enters have opened in the country; another 10 will open in the future. It is planned to set up 150 such medical establishments to satisfy fully the demand on the public health service.

Zaykov Attends Monument Unveiling Ceremony

LD2506075888 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Excerpt] A monument to the Nikolay Gavrilovich Chernishevskiy, the great Russian revolutionary and democrat, was unveiled in Moscow today on the street bearing his name. Taking part in the solemn ceremony were Comrade Zaykov, representatives of party and public organizations, labor collectives, and figures from science and culture. [passage omitted]

4 Hospitalized in Urals Train Derailment

LD0607125588 Moscow TASS in English 1251 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—Four people were hospitalized after twelve cars of a passenger train ran off the rails at 16 hours 48 minutes Moscow time Tuesday between the stations Chaykovskaya and Grigoryevskaya in the Perm region of the Urals, the Soviet Ministry of Railways announced.

Rail traffic is continuing along the other track of the railway line.

The derailment was caused by track deformation due to high temperatures. The train was en route from Moscow to Solikamsk.

A competent commission from the Ministry is investigating the accident.

Moscow To Boost Beer Production, Sales

PM0107152688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 26, 26 Jun 88 p 14

[Leonid Miloslavskiy report: "Anything for a Beer!"]

[Text] Beer is to be sold in 133 new places in the capital (bars, restaurants, drink machines) following a recent decision by the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee to increase sales of beer. This is another step in the more balanced approach to measures against drunkenness and alcoholism, which, life has shown, cannot be combatted using prohibitive measures only.

It may be recalled that early this year it was decided to increase production and sale of beer in Moscow by 19 percent and to grant permission for it to be sold throughout the day. But, let's be frank, it's still difficult to buy a bottle of beer on a hot day, and you can't say we have beer bars yet. Why can't we solve the problem of supply in this beverage? Because, decisions have been passed but still there is no beer, or, to be more precise, there is no way of selling it.

Some time ago, breweries dismantled equipment as part of the logical reaction to anti-alcohol measures. But the breweries have not been able to respond as promptly to a reverse tendency. It proved to be more complicated to restore the production line, then there was a bottle shortage which aggravated the supply and demand problem. Thus, beer is available at breweries but can't be found in the shops. Those fond of this beverage are suffering. What about those selling it? "The six-month plan for the production and marketing of beer won't be fulfilled," says Valentin Zhilinskiy, deputy head of the Main Trade Administration.

But let's leave aside the officials for the moment. People in trade and production won't be reprimanded for failing to fulfil the beer plan, it is the commodity. Beer is no luxury but it becomes so when the employees of state shops sell it under the counter at 70 kopeks or one rouble per bottle.

So, you can't drink beer, the plan is not fulfilled and profiteering flourishes! The Moscow City Soviet finds a way out of the situation by issuing an order to increase sales of draught beer. The only thing that remains is to share this information with readers and finish this article. But....

I fear that there will be complaints of unfulfilled promises for quite a long time to come. Indeed, more than a month has passed but the beer problem does not seem to be subsiding. The resolution of the Moscow City Soviet gives no deadlines. Viktor Zhalnin, senior adviser of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, who, as it turned out later, actually prepared this resolution, did not even know about the plans to increase beer production. In fact, only the Badayev breweries are planning to

produce one million decalitres of beer more than their present quantity. The senior adviser obviously has his own ideas regarding this information.

"The people don't need to know about the amount of alcohol produced." Any more questions about beer? None, and no beer either.

Economic

Ryzhkov Tours Economic Achievements Exhibition
LD2506221388 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On 25 June, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov visited an exhibition of goods produced by the subsidiary production facilities and small-scale industries of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, set out at the USSR exhibition of national economic achievements. During inspection of the exhibits of the union republics, which presented various items, it was noted that the level of production of industrial output, amounting to R25 billion, which has been achieved at kolkhozes and sovkhozes, does not meet the demands and possibilities of the present day. With effective aid on the part of industrial enterprises and the provision of kolkhozes and sovkhozes with equipment and materials, along with the development of their own initiative and vigor, it is possible to raise this volume by approximately one-third as early as 1990.

A thorough conversation took place at the stands of farms producing local construction materials. The regeneration and growth of these production facilities could become a serious step in resolving the social problems of rural areas. Unfortunately, due attention is not being devoted to this important area of economic activity in all republics and regions of the country.

Also taking part in the exhibition are agricultural cooperatives of the CEMA member-countries. One of the largest expositions has been presented by the cooperative agro-combine (?Slushovitsy) of the CSSR. The advantages of running agricultural production in combination with industrial production are graphically demonstrated here.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers viewed exhibits at the construction industry pavilion, residential houses for rural areas, samples of new construction materials, and progressive technological processes in the construction sector. Taking part in the inspection of the exhibition were Comrade Talyzin and Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Comrades Batalin, Belousov, and Gusev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Association of Soviet Exporters Established
LD2406060988 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1310 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jun (TASS)—The Association of Soviet Exporters was set up here today at a constituent meeting held in the Moscow International Trade Center. In it are included 100 industrial enterprises, foreign trade associations, interindustrial scientific-technical complexes, and a number of joint enterprises. Banking institutions, foreign economic scientific-research institutes, and educational establishments in the USSR have shown an interest in cooperating with the association.

Aleksandr Samsonov, general director of the first Moscow watch and clock factory, was elected chairman of the council of the Association of Soviet Exporters.

The new organization will function under the auspices of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCI), which undertakes organizing and financing of work by the association and pays for it from the annual subscriptions from chamber members.

Assisting Soviet organizations, associations, and enterprises in introducing new forms of trade and economic cooperation with foreign countries, in expanding the export of Soviet goods and the progressive restructuring of its structure is the association's main task. The new organization will also be engaged in studying the practice of applying normative documents in force in the field of foreign economic ties and in submitting proposals on improving them.

To fulfill these tasks, the association will hold conferences, seminars, and symposia; give specialist advice; prepare documents on world goods markets; conduct meetings and talks with representatives of foreign business circles; and assist Soviet exporters in exhibiting their goods, both in the USSR and abroad.

Vladislav Malkevich, CCI presidium chairman, said that lately the associations have assumed ever greater importance. Associations for business cooperation with the FRG and Italy have already been set up; next, the establishment of similar associations in Yugoslavia and India, and somewhat later in Vladivostok with Asian-Pacific countries.

The setting up of the Association of Soviet Exporters, noted Ivan Ivanov, the deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, has become a vital necessity inasmuch as the Soviet economy has been given the task of increasing exports by 2.2 to 2.4 times by the year 2000, which is considerably in excess of the current world trade growth rate. In an effort to step up the foreign economic activity of Soviet enterprises, many documents have been passed unleashing initiatives, he continued. However, there are few economic changes for the better. We hope, I. Ivanov

stressed, that the Association of Soviet Exporters will help trigger more quickly the mechanism that has been created for expanding foreign economic ties with foreign firms and organizations.

'Progress' Pipeline Delivers Gas to Ukraine
PM0707145188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1

[I. Mizhen report: "First 'Progress' Gas"]

[Text] Ukrainian SSR—The first commercial gas has come on stream along the "Progress" main gas pipeline between Yamburg and the USSR's western border, laid by Glavukrнеftegazstroy [Main Ukrainian Petroleum and Gas Construction Administration] construction workers.

The total length of the main pipeline from Poltava Oblast to Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast is 437 km. Many typical signs of the time distinguish this gigantic construction project from those similar to it in the recent past.

"Judge for yourself," V. Kopyshevskiy, chief engineer of Glavukrнеftegazstroy, says. "Quite recently we commissioned the well-known transcontinental gas pipeline linking Urengoy, Pomary, and Uzhgorod. At that time 260 km of pipeline was laid in the record time of 15 months. This time, however, 437 km was laid in 18 months. Scientific and technical progress—we used the highly productive "Sever-1" and "Styk-4" automatic systems to weld two-thirds of the pipeline in our sector—as well as bold engineering decisions like, for example, the 100-meter girder bridge across the Dnestr and, of course, a new economic approach in organizing construction work, played a part here.

And one more very important detail. It appears that in the near future the farmers will be receiving much-needed gas from the pipelines crossing their lands. Some 56 branch pipelines to take gas to the republic's cities and villages and to its industrial and agricultural enterprises are envisaged just on the "Progress" section, constructed by the Ukrainian pipeline construction workers.

Scientific

'Phobos' Mars Probe Launched From Baykonur 7 Jul

'First Stage' of Mars Program
LD0707083388 Moscow TASS in English 0617 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—The flight of two Soviet spacecraft toward Martian satellite Phobos will become the first stage of a vast Soviet programme for the exploration of Mars for the coming decades. Phobos I is to be launched from the Baykonur Cosmodrome today, while Phobos II will be launched on July 12. Scientific

equipment to be carried by the spacecraft was developed, besides Soviet specialists, also by their colleagues from 12 countries and the European Space Agency.

Venus has been the main target for Soviet planetary exploration over a long time. 18 automatic stations have been launched towards Venus. Ten apparatuses landed on the Venusian surface. Television broadcasts were conducted from its surface several times. Venusian soil and atmosphere have been thoroughly studied. The interest to Mars is connected with the fact, that, alongside Venus, it is the planet most similar to Earth. There are data that in the past its atmosphere was denser, its climate was warmer, there was water on its surface, hence, it cannot be precluded that the simplest form of life existed or exist on Mars.

Not one of the eleven Soviet and American spacecraft that explored Mars, also the most complex of them, "Vikings", has furnished the answer to the question whether or not there was biosphere on Mars and whether it has preserved. An expedition to deliver Martian rock to earth, which Soviet scientists plan to implement in 1996-1998, will be the most reliable way of furnishing the answer to the question if there is life on Mars. This is a very complex task technologically, so its solution will be preceded by a flight planned for 1994, during which a satellite will be put into an orbit around Mars, and a lander will be put on Mars, and the Martian atmosphere will be studied by a balloon. Both these projects are planned to be implemented in broad international cooperation.

Martian satellites Phobos and Deimos are very small, with a diameter of 27 and 15 kilometers, respectively. Both have an irregular form and very dark surface pockmarked with craters. Scientists suppose that the Martian satellites are asteroids captured by its gravitational field. The study of the substance of which they consist will make it possible to widen the notions about the evolution of the solar system. The mission's programme, aside from the studies of Martian moon Phobos envisages experiments for the exploration of Mars, the sun and interplanetary space.

Research Program Outlined

LD0707110888 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—More than twenty scientific experiments are to be carried out in the course of the mission to Phobos, a satellite of Mars, of two Soviet spacecraft, the first of which is to be launched from Baykonur Cosmodrome today. "Phobos-2" is scheduled to be launched on July 12. The scientific equipment was developed with the participation of specialists from Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Ireland, Poland, the USSR, Finland, France, the FRG, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Sweden and the European Space Agency. The USA participates in the ground tracking of the mission.

Two hundred days after the launching, in January next year, the spacecraft will approach Mars and will then be put into an elliptical and then into a circular orbit at a distance of 6,000 kilometres from Mars and at a distance of 30 kilometres from orbit of Phobos. Then they will go down and for roughly 15 minutes will travel at a low speed at an altitude of only 30-80 metres over the surface of the satellite of Mars.

At that time, the element and isotope composition of the soil of Phobos will be for the first time ever studied by means of a laser mass spectrometer. A laser beam focussed according to the readings of the distance metre, will cause evaporation and ionisation of matter from the surface of Phobos, which will then be investigated with the use of onboard equipment. During the flight over Phobos the soil will be analysed by this method in roughly 100 points.

Use will also be made of the traditional exploration methods, for example, the television system will ensure photography in three spectral channels and the obtaining of synthesised colour images in which details of the surface with the linear dimensions of more than six centimetres will be discerned.

At the end of the section of low-level flight two landing probes will be separated from the spacecraft and settled down on to the surface of Phobos. One of them will be a long-living autonomous station designed for roughly a year of operation. Its main objective is to carry out various research experiments in celestial mechanics, the study of the element composition of the surface layer and its structure. One more landing probe will be able to travel across the surface of Phobos by means of a special thrust jumping device and study its soil.

Information from the landing probes will be transmitted back to earth through a radio channel. It will be received by 70 m [as received] antennas on the ground stations in Yevpatoria (Crimea) and Ussuriysk (Far East) and the 64-metre antenna near Moscow as well as radio telescopes in Europe and in the western hemisphere.

Along with the exploration of Phobos the programme of the mission provides for the exploration of Mars, the sun and interplanetary space.

Launch Described

LD0707174788 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—Spacecraft Phobos 1 was launched from the Baykonur Cosmodrome today to probe Mars, its moon Phobos, the sun and interplanetary space. [Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1731 GMT on 7 July, during the scheduled 1700 GMT "Vremya" newscast, carries a live relay of the launch. The relay opens with shots of the "Proton" rocket on the launchpad as correspondent Slipchenko outlines the

purpose of the mission. At 1738 GMT the rocket is seen taking off into the night sky. The relay concludes with the separation of the first stage to the applause of assembled officials.]

Flight Proceeding Normally

LD0807080588 Moscow TASS in English 0641 GMT
8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 8 TASS—The on-board systems and research equipment of the space probe Phobos, launched in the USSR on July 7, are operating normally, according to telemetry information.

The probe launching follows a programme of the study of outer space and solar system planets. The 6,220 kg probe was placed on the flight path towards Mars by a four-stage booster, Proton.

The international Phobos project provides for the launching of two space probes, the sun and inter-planetary space.

The stations, in fact unmanned spacecraft of a new generation, have been designed at the G.N. Babakin Research and Development Centre under the USSR Chief Space Administration (Glavkosmos) with the participation of many design and industrial enterprises in the country.

Engineers from Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Ireland, Poland, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Sweden and the European Space Agency took part along with Soviet specialists in devising the research programme for the Phobos flight and designing scientific equipment.

Phobos-1 will reach the environs of the red planet late in January 1989 and conduct a remote probing of its surface and atmosphere from Martian orbit.

In approaching Phobos, the probe will be controlled using the autonomous navigation measurements of its relative movement.

The probe is to fly at a distance of dozens of metres from the Martian satellite's surface. For the first time in the history of planetary experiments, it is planned to analyze the elementary and isotopic composition of rock on the surface of a celestial body using laser and ion probing.

As the space probe will approach Phobos, an autonomous landing module will be separated to carry out research experiments and film the surface of the Martian satellite at the place of landing.

The research programme of the landing module operation envisages lengthy observations using a system of land-based radio telescopes of the USSR, the United States and an international radio astronomical network.

The probe flight is being monitored by the Glavkosmos Mission Control Centre near Moscow and the remote space communications centre in Yevpatoria.

Incoming information will be processed at the Mission Control Centre, the Remote Space Communications Centre, the Institute for Space Research at the USSR Academy of Sciences and other Soviet and foreign research institutions engaged in the international Phobos project.

The Phobos-2 probe launch is scheduled for July 12, 1988.

'Cosmos-1957' Satellite Launched 7 Jul
LD0707154388 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT
7 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—The artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-1957, the next in the series, was launched by the Soyuz rocket booster in the USSR today. It is designed to continue the exploration of the earth's natural resources in the interests of various branches of the USSR national economy and international cooperation.

The satellite was put into orbit with the following parameters:

Initial period of revolution—88.7 minutes
Maximum distance from the earth's surface—
256 kilometers
Minimum distance from the earth's surface—
194 kilometers
Inclination of the orbit—82.6 degrees.

The equipment installed in the satellite operates normally.

Progress Report on 'Mir' Cosmonauts
LD0507104588 Moscow TASS in English 1031 GMT
5 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 5 TASS—Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are continuing their long-duration orbital flight.

They have spent the past few days after their spacewalk resting and putting the equipment and gear used for extravehicular activity back on its initial status.

In keeping with a plan for maintenance work, the cosmonauts yesterday replaced individual components of the life support system and today they are to check the controls.

They are also to watch the surface of earth and meteorological processes in the atmosphere, set up scientific equipment for planned studies and experiments, and do physical exercises.

The spacemen are feeling well.

The flight of the manned platform mir is proceeding normally. The parameters of its orbit at present are as follows:

Maximum distance from earth—367 kilometers,
Minimum distance—346 kilometers,
Period of revolution—91.4 minutes,
Inclination—51.6 degrees.

International Space Council Begins Work
LD0607144288 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—An international scientific council began its work today at the Space Research Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences at the time when two Soviet unmanned probes undergo pre-launch preparations at Baykonur spaceport. They will be blasted off on a mission to the Martian moon Phobos on July 7 and July 12.

The council comprises the representatives of the countries which worked on the scientific programme of the mission of several months: Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Ireland, Poland, the USSR, Finland, France, West Germany, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and the European Space Agency. Representatives of the United States, who will track the probes from the ground together with Soviet specialists, also take part in the work of the council.

At today's and subsequent sessions of the council the scientists will discuss the results of the testing of scientific instruments at the cosmodrome, the questions related to their operation in flight and will learn the way the experimental data will be transmitted.

Phobos, which, as scientists suppose, is a former asteroid captured by Martian gravitational fields, will become the first tiny body of the solar system whose surface will be reached by a space probe. The scientific interest in small celestial bodies—comets and asteroids—is explained by the fact that the study of the substance of which they are composed will allow scientists substantially to expand knowledge about the evolution of the solar system.

Aside from the study of the Martian moon, the programme of the mission envisages numerous experiments to explore the planet itself, the sun and the interplanetary space.

The flight to Phobos is the first link in an extensive Soviet Mars exploration programme to be pursued till the beginning of the next century. The scientific council devotes much attention to the discussion of the possible variants of Martian expeditions and prospects for involving in them representatives of other countries alongside Soviet scientists and specialists.

Cosmonaut on Joint Hungarian Space Flight
LD0607090288 Budapest MTI in English 0802 GMT
6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 6 (MTI)—“There is a possibility for another Soviet-Hungarian space flight,” said Soviet Cosmonaut Valeriy Kubasov, who participated in the first common space flight.

Valeriy Kubasov told a TASS correspondent that Hungarian researchers have accumulated sufficient experience in technical sciences and biotechnology for organizing a second, longer and more complex common flight.

During the previous flight, Kubasov said, several research projects were carried out that served the Hungarian economy. Hungarian scientists have made great accomplishments in space research and got involved in the Intercosmos programme and the Phobos programme, monitoring the moons of the Mars and the cosmic space.

Military

Yazov Addresses Defense Ministry Aktiv
PM0707103588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 7 Jul 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: “Asserting Restructuring Through Deeds”]

[Text] A meeting of the USSR Defense Ministry central apparatus’ party aktiv has been held. Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, delivered a report on the priority tasks in fulfilling the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. •

The meeting stressed that the 19th all-union party conference was a major, epoch-making event in the life of the party and entire country. The decisions it elaborated and adopted are of tremendous importance for the destiny of restructuring and the revolutionary process of society’s renewal. Every Army and Navy Communist, the meeting stressed, is called on to be a fighter for restructuring, to assert it boldly and thoroughly through specific deeds, and to make a fitting contribution to the consolidation of the combat readiness of units and ships, consolidation of military discipline and statutory order, and development of the social sphere and democratic processes in the military collectives. It is very important that all political organs, party, and public organizations should embark on the implementation of the party conference decisions right now, without waiting for any instructions.

The USSR defense minister dwelled in detail on topical problems of improving the activity of commanders, political organs, party organizations, and all military cadres in the light of the demands of the 19th all-union party conference.

The meeting was addressed by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

End